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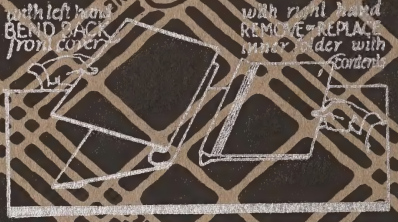

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THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
AND THE CLERGY OF THE DAY

Stewart M. Robinson

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PREFACE

A well known news commentator, writer, and explorer, after reading this book in typescript, returned it with the comment, -- what a mastery of thought and expression those old parsons had. There is an elevation of spirit and richness of speech which carries one along on a tide. Looking back on this colonial ministry, after more than forty years of my own pastoral work, I am amazed at the steadfastness of purpose, the strength of mind, the vital humanity of personal and family life, the breadth of social understanding which characterized these men who led large and small congregations during the century and a half of our colonial life which preceded the formation of the independent government of the United States of America.

The constant ministry of this formidable company of highly educated and deeply spiritual men is one of the main reasons for this elevated spirit through the body politic. The excessive violence and intransigent positions which have characterized so many other revolutions were notably absent from our own.

The ministers who served in all the colonies, in town or in cross-roads settlements, itinerating among isolated farms and back-woods clearings, constantly influenced the minds of a vastly greater number than were ever gathered into formal membership in organized religious societies.

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The decades just preceding the Revolution saw the Great Awakening that Professor Osgood called "the first great and spontaneous movement in the history of the American people. ... Magna Carta, the colonial charters, and the Bible, taken together in idealized form, embodied the truths best known to the colonists and from them came their highest aspirations."

The opinions of the clergy were so trusted and sought after that the contacts were strong and frequent. "On two days in every seven they presented themselves in solemn state to the people and challenged undivided attention." In addition to weekly worship in churches, homes or camps as opportunity offered, important events in public life were marked by sermons. These ranged over the whole gamut of public affairs from the opening of a legislature to the hanging of a criminal; musters, military expeditions, deaths and accessions of kings, the passage of comets and the sailings of fleets all evoked the concern of the parson's word. Days of thanksgiving, fasts, and days of prayer memorialized the light and shadow of public life.

Not only the well known preachers, but hundreds more make up the force which did as much as any other factor to produce our instruments of government and, what was more important, the elevation of spirit to operate such documents of freedom.

The familiar story of events which brought together that body of men, less than sixty, in Philadelphia in 17

is here recited, with the effect of the thought and writing of the clergymen who shared in the experience. After the Constitutional Convention had spent hot weeks in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 without getting very far forward in the quest for a sound basis of common government, the aged Benjamin Franklin rose in his place and urged his colleagues to look to God for wisdom: "I have lived, Sir," he said, "a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of the truth that God governs the world of men. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings that, -- 'except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it'. I firmly believe this and I also believe that without His conferring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel ... I therefore beg leave to move that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessing on our deliberations be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

The ministry of our colonial period made a very great impression on society. There was a wide variety of religious groups. Freedom of soul had been one of the stronger contributory causes of migration to these shores. Sometimes one man's meat was another man's poison. But the answer in either case was to leave home and strike out for a new life

in an empty country. America was like a clean page in a copy-book, fresh for a new start and a better story. There was room for all, Natural resources were abundant and the wide sea was a highway. Rivers and smaller streams were the cross-ways and Indian trails the small arteries of communication.

The settlers included men of learning and men of wealth as well as skillful artisans and husbandmen. Bound servants and prisoners from the courts made up the total. But at the forefront of influence were the ministers of religion. The colonizing authorities in the homelands stipulated for them. The settlers wanted them. Schools were planted to create more of them. Latin, Greek and Hebrew were read, spoken and taught in the colonies from the beginning.

All public questions were a matter of clerical interest and many purely religious matters were of great public concern. The culmination of fifteen decades of discussion on all sorts of public questions was the grand debate which ended with the organization of our national life on an independent footing. It is not too much to say that clerical opinion determined the issue, negatively if not positively. A realignment of views among the parsons would have altered the balance of opinion to such an extent that the ultimate climax might either have been different, or differently timed. The First Congress graphically illustrates this point. One can press the matter a little farther and say that Sam Adams' preference for Jacob Duche

as chaplain for the opening of the Congress, though but a straw, is a straw that showed a breeze which foretold a gale.

History is made up of great matters but its cement is small matters. Moreover the small details are the dramatic elements which vivify the story. In the beginning of 1774 the English Parliament had not passed the Boston Port-Bill. Life in the colonies, while already alerted to many political questions, was made up of the fabric of ordinary interests. Farmers were preparing their land, lawyers drawing deeds, merchants tending store, boys and girls doing their sums, parsons writing sermons, visiting the people, gathering for clerical conferences, colleges were absorbed in language, literature and natural philosophy. It was an ordinary year plus over-tones. A cloud no bigger than a man's hand hung on the horizon.

The following pages attempt to unfold the story of that year 1774 through the eyes of colonial ministers. They lived in every community and represented a wide range of ecclesiastical differences. Their attention was focused upon the great public event which was taking shape and they were drawn into it according to their various predispositions. It is the texture of this pattern which makes this story worth telling.

CHAPTER I

BY WAY OF BACKGROUND

The delegates who gathered, from twelve of the British American Colonies, at Philadelphia in September, 1774, were following a procedure practiced twenty years before when the Albany Congress met. There was one important difference. The Albany Congress of 1754 was called by the Government in London and convened under the authority of the vice-regal deputies in America. The Rev. Richard Peters of Philadelphia was one of its delegates from Pennsylvania. As it assembled on Wednesday, June 19, 1754, it marked the first weekend by asking Peters to preach and on the following Monday recorded the thanks of the body and asked that the sermon be printed. The Albany Congress, besides tackling the delicate crisis of general Indian coolness, not to say hostility, and as a defense for future crises which seemed imminent, set forth the fabric of a union of the Colonies under the Crown: "The Plan of a Proposed Union of the Several Colonies ... for their mutual defense and security, and for extending the British Settlements in America".[1]

This important document put on paper twenty years before the Continental Congress met, mentions Philadelphia as the place of its first meeting and reflects the problems which

[1] E. B. O'Callaghan, Documentary History of the State of New York. Albany, 1849. Vol. II, p. 612.

were as pressing in 1754 as in 1774, the effect on international and intercolonial affairs of the rapid extension of white men into the hunting grounds of the red men. As the Indian messengers put it in Albany, "Brethren - the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarreling about lands which belong to us. The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania have made paths into our country to trade and build houses without acquainting us with it."[2] The man who held the greatest influence over the thousands of turbulent Indians was Sir William Johnson who died July 4, 1774. He was the highest authority on Indian affairs and the Crown's supreme agent in their management. "If he fail us we die".[3] In 1754 he had a number of loyal Indian allies, notable among them "Old Hendrick, the great Mohawk Sachem", the eloquent statesman of his people, who was killed at the Battle of Lake George, September 7, 1755 when Baron de Dieskau, the French Commander, was captured and Johnson received a painful and dangerous wound.[4] The war then became general and long and the Congress planned at Albany did not meet, but another under different circumstances was gathered and Philadelphia was selected as the meeting place.

The men who came together in 1774 addressed themselves

[2]Ibid. Vol. II, p. 580.

[3]Ibid. Vol. II, p. 590.

[4]Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 693, 695.

[2] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 190.

[3] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 190.

[4] Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 192 ff.

to an emergency. They were unconscious that they were the progenitors of our long series of Congresses, and no delegate had the vestige of a mandate to strike for independence from the mother country. The swiftly moving events of the summer of 1774, and the remarkable unanimity displayed in the accord which concluded the sessions in Carpenter's Hall, are the subject of this book's examination of the political thought of one particular section of the body politic, namely the clergy, through its contact with these events and with the Congress. The clergy numbered possibly one in a hundred among the general population, but each man was strategically located and possessed an influence quite unique. While sharply divided and bitterly antagonistic in some areas of thought, they and the people they ministered to, adhered to the same political philosophy, namely the doctrine of natural law and the virtue of balanced powers in government.

"Of all the concepts that have been employed in the development of political thought, none has appeared more frequently, or has formed an integral part of more discussions concerning the fundamental problems of the state than that of a law of nature." Mr. Justice Holmes described Natural Law as man's instinctive aspiration for the superlative. "The term 'Law of Nature', or natural law has been in use in various applications ever since the time of the later Roman Republic. Their variety and apparent diversity have tended to obscure the central idea which underlies them all, that of an ultimate principle of fitness with regard to

the nature of man as a rational and social being, which is, or ought to be, the justification of every form of positive law."[5]

Aristotle distinguished between justice (dikaion physicon) and statute (dikaion nomicon). In the Middle Ages the Aristotelian saying was still current: "Jus naturale est quod apud omnes homines eandem habet potentiam". Roman practice divided the law under three heads: civil (lex civile), i.e. ordinances and statutes for the Roman citizens; strangers' customs (lex gentium), i.e. such habitual conceptions as inhered in the minds of foreigners who came to Rome on business and natural law (lex naturale), i.e. the philosophical distillation of right or righteousness.[6]

Christianity, which gathered up the Law and the Prophets out of the "fossil" culture of the Jews,[7] and added the Evangel of Christ and the Apostles, found the Law of Nature, ready at hand, as a conception which corresponded with the state of man as created and fallen. The Church Fathers, well versed in classical knowledge, spelled out from Scripture the Natural Law long recognized among mankind. Aquinas wrote,

[5]Sir Frederick Pollock, The History of the Law of Nature. Columbia Law Review, Vol. I. January, 1901. p. 11.

[6]The Ciceronian formula runs: "Huic legi nec abrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest: nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus; neque est quaerendus explanator aut interpres eius alius: nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac." (De Rep. III, 22) Quoted by Pollock, op.cit. p. 16.

[7]Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History. 10v. London, 1935-54. Vol. I, p. 90.

"The light of natural reason, whereby we discern what is good and what is evil, which is the function of natural law, is nothing else than the imprint on us of the divine light. It is therefore evident that the natural law is nothing else than the rational creature's participation of the eternal law."[8] Through the authority of Augustine, the Reformers found no reason to turn away from this doctrine, so there was no break at the Reformation.

"Calvin speaks continually of nature . . . one could cite instances at random and borrow from all his works . . . There is an order of nature, (ordo naturae). The word 'order' has two meanings: that which is commanded, and that which is organized. The world is the product of the commandment of God, of his will, and of the organization of God, of his wisdom . . . This order of nature gives rise to the Law of Nature. The Law of Nature is what conforms to the Order of Nature, and the two words may be used interchangeably."[9]

Using the language of technical theology, Calvin stands for a high doctrine of Common Grace. Fallen man is a ruin, indeed, but a glorious ruin, and the impairment of his nature is not such that he is oblivious to all the great truths of human life in its relationship to God, and Nature. "There is no real contradiction, for Calvin, between Natural Law

[8] St. Thomas Aquinas, Basic Writings. Anton C. Pegis, 2 v. ed. (Lifetime Series) New York, 1945. Vol. II, p. 750. Quest. 91, Art. 2. "Augustine says: 'Thy law is written in the hearts of men which iniquity itself effaces not.'" (Conf. ii. 4.)

[9] Doumergue. Vie de Jean Calvin. Lausanne, 1917. Vol. V, p. 466.

and Revelation; no more than there is no real contradiction between natural religion and revealed religion; no more than there is real contradiction between Common Grace and Special Grace: it is in these very paradoxes that the originality of Calvin's thought lies, that which is the most Calvinistic. Natural Law is, for Calvin, only an aspect of Common Grace, - it is itself Common Grace."[10]

Natural Law doctrine was imbibed by the colonial clergy not only directly from Continental teachers, but also from English thought of the 17th century. "Recent investigations in English legal history have modified to some extent the traditional views regarding the acceptance of Roman law principles and have tended to indicate some important connection between the main currents of continental legal thought and the emerging common law of England. And we are now assured that one of the main connecting links between the two legal systems was the doctrine of the law of nature or law of reason of ancient and mediaeval times."[11]

[10] "Il n'y a pas opposition réelle, pour Calvin, entre la loi naturelle et la loi révélee, pas plus qu'il n'y a opposition réelle entre la religion naturelle et la religion révélee; pas plu qu'il y a opposition réele entre la grâce generale et la grâce particulière; c'est dans ces contrariétés mêmes que réside l'originalite de la pensée de Calvin, ce qu'elle a de plus calviniste. La loi naturelle n'est, pour Calvin, qu'un aspect général de la grâce générale: c'est la grâce générale elle-même." (Doumergue. op.cit. Vol. V, p. 471)

[11] Charles G. Haines, The Revival of Natural Law Concepts. Harvard University Press, 1930. p. 28.

Cromwell, in a speech delivered September 12, 1654 said, "There are some things in the Establishment that are fundamental, and some things that are not so, but are circumstantial . . . . The government by a single person and a Parliament is a fundamental; it is the *esse*, it is constitutive . . . . In every government there must be somewhat fundamental, somewhat like a Magna Charta, that should be standing and unalterable. That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a fundamental. Of what assurance is a law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one and the same legislator to unlaw it again? . . . It will be like a rope of sand."[12]

Two months before this speech a work of John Cotton had been published in England containing these passages, - "But surely, as God inclineth and determineth the will by gifts of grace, by motions of the spirit (exciting and enlarging the heart) and good objects unto spiritual acts; so doth he incline natural agents to natural acts by natural dispositions; and voluntary Agents to moral and civil acts by moral and civil Dispositions, Motions, Objects . . . *Causa causae* is *causa causata*, holdeth in natural Agents not voluntary . . . . From the nature and condition of the creatures . . . they are all God's instruments . . . God determineth all actions, not by imposing necessity upon the will, but by inclining it according to the nature and liberty of it."[13]

[12] Oliver Cromwell, The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. W. C. Abbott ed. Harvard University Press, 1945. Vol. III, pp. 458-459.

[13] John Cotton, A Briefe Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Whole Book of Ecclesiastes. London, 1654. pp. 64-65.

From another work in 1656 we find this, "How come men to keep God's Law but from the Spirit of God which dwells in them? Look on man in the state of Nature, and their fairest fruits are but the vines of Sodom, and grapes of Gomorrah . . . if a man (on the other hand) finds his grapes savoury, his words, thoughts, and actions gracious and sweet, so that now he is fruitful in obedience, it is an evident sign that we are in Christ, else we could not be enabled to anything which is good."[14]

In 1727 Samuel Willard's Lectures on the Westminster Catechism were published in Boston. At one place he says, ". . . Second Causes in their order act from a natural principle; or according to the Law of Nature, which was imprinted upon them in their creation. There is a nature, deriving from the virtue and efficaciousness of that Word which was left upon them when they were made, when God said, let them be so, and they were so; which impression remains on them to perpetuity, and is their very nature; so as that they have in them a natural virtue and disposition, enclining them so to act and exert themselves in the order which God first stated them in when He made them: and when the thing acts according hereunto, it then acts naturally and not forcedly." (This lecture was given July 14, 1691.)[15]

[14]John Cotton, A Practical Commentary or an Exposition with Observations, Reasons, and Uses upon the First Epistle General of John. London, 1656. p. 71.

[15]Willard. op. cit. p. 137.

[15] Willard. op. cit. p. 177.

John Wise developed the doctrine thus: " . . . to proceed under the head of a state of natural being, I shall more distinctly explain the state of human nature in its original capacity, as man is placed on earth by his Maker, and clothed with many investitures and immunities which properly belong to man separately considered. As 1. The prime immunity in man's state, is that he is most properly the subject of the law of nature. He is the favorite animal on earth; in that this part of God's image, viz., reason is consonate with his nature, wherein by a law immutable, it is stamped upon his frame. God has provided a rule for men in all their actions, obliging each one to the performance of that which is right, not only as to justice, but likewise as to all other moral virtues, the which is nothing but the dictate of right reason founded on the soul of man." Originally published in 1717 this work was thought worthy of reprinting in 1772.[16]

Between these dates there is a steady line of testimony from the pens of colonial preachers to the basic conviction among men of serious thought that God and Nature are wedded by creation and by redemption, and that revelation is not contradictory to science (i.e. knowledge in general as gained by observation) but supplementary thereto, for specific purposes otherwise left blank to the eye of the natural man. A rapid roll-call will serve to briefly marshall enough

[16]John Wise, A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches. Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; its Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it. Boston, 1717. p. 34.

statements to illustrate the fact.

George Whitefield in 1746 said: "Is there anything (in Scripture) contrary to the strictest laws of right reason."[17] That would interest Benjamin Franklin, and we know he was a devoted admirer of the great field preacher.

Noah Hobart said in 1750, "Whether we consult the light of Nature or Revelation, we shall find Reason to conclude that all regular forms of civil administration, so far as they answer the intentions of government, are agreeable to the will of God."[18]

Samuel Phillips said in 1750, "This Law of Nature is no other but the Law of God."[19]

William Welsteed in 1751 declared that men raised to govern other men have the obligation of "studiously informing themselves of the laws of nature and nations."[20]

[17]George Whitefield, Britain's Mercies, and Britain's Duty. Represented in a Sermon, Preached at the New-Building in Philadelphia on Sunday, August 24, 1746. Boston, 1746. p. 19.

[18]Noah Hobart, Civil Government the Foundation of Social Happiness. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 10th, 1750. Hartford, 1751. p. 2.

[19]Samuel Phillips, Political Rulers Authoriz'd and Influenc'd by God our Saviour, to Decree and Execute Justice. A Sermon preached at Boston on May 30th, 1750, being the anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1750. p. 7.

[20]William Welsteed, The Dignity and Duty of Civil Magistrates. A Sermon preached ... May 29th, 1751. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1751. p. 17.

From Benjamin Lord in 1751 we have this: "The great Author of Nature, hath formed and designed his creature man for society, both civil and religious, as it is agreeable to his very make, and necessary to his present state; so, is adapted to his multifarious advantage. Men . . . are by no means, to remain in a state of nature, each one to possess by himself, and use for himself his natural rights and liberties, without any borrowed strength and advantage from others by compact."[21]

Ashbel Woodbridge in 1752 said, "This is a truth that both the light of nature and revelation agree in, viz., that 'he that ruleth over men must be just'."[22]

Jonathan Mayhew in 1754: "As the happiness of men in society depends greatly upon the goodness of their morals, and as morals have a close connection with religion, the latter as well as the former, ought doubtless to be encouraged by the civil magistrate; not only by his own pious life and good example, but also by his laws, as far as is consistent with the natural, unalienable rights of every man's conscience."[23]

[21]Benjamin Lord, Religion and Government Subsisting Together in Society, Necessary to their Compleat Happiness and Safety. A Sermon delivered ... Anniversary Election at Hartford, May 9th, 1751. New-London, 1752. pp. 1-2.

[22]Ashbel Woodbridge, A Sermon Delivered before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut on the Anniversary Election at Hartford, May 14th, 1752. New-London, 1753. p. 10.

[23]Jonathan Mayhew, A Sermon Preach'd ... May 29th, 1754. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province. Boston, 1754. p. 10.

Samuel Davies said in 1755, "In the material world, events are accomplished according to those laws which he (God) first established in nature."[24]

From George Beckwith in 1756, we have this: "(God) is essentially present with all creation, upholding all things by his power, and governing universal nature by his providence."[25]

Peter Raynolds said in 1757, "That this universal empire and dominion belongs to God, is a truth so evident, both from Scripture, and Reason and so generally acknowledged by all wise men in all parts and ages of the world, that there needs little to be said for the proof of it."[26]

Ebenezer Gay in 1759 put it this way, "The law of nature is given by the God of nature, who is Lord of all."[27]

[24]Samuel Davies, God, the Sovereign of all Kingdoms. op. cit. Vol. III, p. 329.

[25]George Beckwith, That People a Safe and Happy People, who have God for, and among them. Shewed in a Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, May 13th, 1756, being the Day of the Anniversary Election there. New-London, 1756. p. 11.

[26]Peter Raynolds, The Kingdom is the Lord's; or, God the Supreme Ruler and Governour of the World. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 12th, 1757. New-London, 1757. p. 10.

[27]Ebenezer Gay, Natural Religion, as Distinguished from Revealed. Boston, 1759. p. 10.

Joseph Fish in 1760 declared, "Every man has a natural, unalienable right to think and see for himself."[28]

Joseph Bellamy in 1762 said, "Righteousness exalteth a nation . . . as it has a natural tendency to make a nation prosperous and happy."[29]

James Lockwood in 1763: "All nature is full of God: He not only inhabits eternity, but he fills immensity: He is intimately present with all the works of his hands; upholding, superintending, ordering and directing all things, through the immense universe: His all-ruling providence extends to the vegetable kingdom and animal, as well as to the rational creation; and so it does in all the dead parts of matter, thro' the whole created system; in so much that there is not a motion in the natural, nor a thought in the intellectual world, but what is subject to his controul."[30]

Thomas Clap in 1765 provided an answer for his students at Yale who might fail to properly orient natural law in the whole context of thought on which the light of Revelation shines. He wrote, - "Authors frequently speak of the Law

[28]Joseph Fish, Christ Jesus the Physician, and his Blood the Balm, Recommended for the Healing of a Diseased People. In a Sermon Preach'd before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 8, 1760. New-London, 1760. pp. 13-14.

[29]Joseph Bellamy, a Sermon Delivered before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of the Anniversary Election, May 13th, 1762. New-London, 1762. P. 9.

[30]James Lockwood, a Sermon preached at Weathersfield, July 6, 1763. Being the Day appointed by Authority for a Public Thanksgiving on Account of the Peace, concluded with France and Spain. New-Haven, 1763. p. 5.

of Nature as the great fundamental principle of all moral duties; and yet they give very different, if not contrary definitions of it . . . . I observe that whatever fundamental principle any man fixes upon, let it be what it will, he calls it by the name of the Law of Nature." A few pages earlier we read this suggestive illustration in favor of revelation. "There is a plain distinction between a man's seeing the evidence of a proposition, when it is fairly proposed to him by another, and his finding it out of himself, or suggesting it to his own mind. Thus there are many important truths in natural philosophy and mathematics, which, when they come to be fairly proposed, were never doubted of; such as the general laws of attraction, the weight of the atmosphere, rules of fluxions, etc., and yet it is probable that these things never came into the mind of any mortal, till they were suggested by the great genius of Sir Isaac Newton."[31]

Nathaniel Appleton at the great celebration on the repeal of the Stamp Act (1766) had this to say, - "Religion teaches us to view the hand of God in everything . . . . We may see, and we ought to observe, so far as we can, the natural means by which things are brought about; but we must look above and beyond all human means and natural causes."[32]

[31] Thomas Clap, An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation. New-Haven, 1765. pp. 46-48.

[32] Nathaniel Appleton, A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Total Repeal of the Stamp Act preached in Cambridge, New-England, May 20th, 1766. Boston, 1766. p. 21.

Amos Adams, 1767, said, - " . . . wherein consisteth the real valuable liberty . . . of our churches . . .? These churches are founded on the natural right or private judgment."[33]

Jason Haven in 1769 said, "Rulers should . . . be acquainted with the natural rights of the people, which are the same under every form of government."[34]

John Lathrop in 1770 said, "Civil government, if good, is founded upon the law of nature, or the revealed law of God."[35]

Stephen Johnson in 1770 said, " . . . natural rights, civil and religious, are the gifts of God."[36]

Benjamin Trumbull in 1773 said, "Is it not the dictate of reason and of the will of God, that the original great design of civil government is the good of the community? -

[33]Amos Adams, Religious Liberty an Invaluable Blessing. Boston, 1768. pp. 38-39.

[34]Jason Haven, a Sermon preached ... May 31st, 1769. Being the Anniversary of the Elections of His Majesty's Council. Boston, 1769. p. 26.

[35]John Lathrop, Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston. A Sermon occasioned by the Horrid Murder of Messieurs Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Atticus, with Patrick Carr, since dead, and Christopher Monk, judged irrecoverable, and several others badly wounded by a party of troops under the Command of Captain Preston on the fifth of March, 1770, and preached the Lord's Day following. Boston, 1771. p. 13.

[36]Stephen Johnson, Integrity and Piety the best Principles of a good Administration of Government. Illustrated in a Sermon preached at Hartford, on the day of their Anniversary Election, May 10th, 1770. New-London, 1770. p. 5.

- the maintaining and securing the rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of mankind? . . . Must not whatsoever, therefore, tendeth to deprive mankind of these important rights . . . be contrary to the great design of government . . . Is it not an infraction of the great and unchangeable laws of nature, reason and religion?"[37]

William Tennent (III) in 1774 said, "Nor is the use of means to obtain relief from our oppressions inconsistent with the necessary principles of human nature, or contrary to the Word of God."[38]

John Carmichael in 1775 in a sermon on "A Defensive War Lawful" set out to prove it by "the light of nature, and divine revelation".[39]

John J. Zubly in 1775 said, " . . . laws which take away the natural rights of men, are unjust and oppressive."[40]

Finally, John Witherspoon wrote in his second Druid paper published in June, 1776 as follows, "The natural

[37]Benjamin Trumbull, a Discourse Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Freemen of the Town of New-Haven, April 12, 1773. New-Haven, 1773. pp. 31-32.

[38]William Tennent, an Address occasioned by the Late Invasion of the Liberties of the American Colonies by the British Parliament. Delivered in Charleston, South Carolina. Philadelphia, 1774. p.8.

[39]John Carmichael, A Self-Defensive War Lawful, proved in a Sermon, preached at Lancaster, before Captain Ross's Company of Militia, in the Presbyterian Church on Sabbath Morning, June 4, 1775. Philadelphia, 1775. p. 12.

[40]John J. Zubly, The Law of Liberty. A Sermon of American Affairs, preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia. 1775. p. 7.

rights of mankind and the cause of liberty in general have been explained and defended in innumerable treatises, ancient and modern . . . . The nature of government and method of balancing a civil constitution . . . on this also many excellent observations have been made . . . . the sanction of the law of nature is nothing else but a sense of duty, and accountableness to the Supreme Judge . . . . The single purpose of society . . . is to protect the individual, and to give him the strength of the public arm, in defense of his just and natural rights."[41]

Forty years ago Prof. M. R. Cohen vigorously defended natural law against the then (and still) popular relativism by declaring, "Historicism of the nineteenth century is . . . in some respects more mischievous than the rationalism of the eighteenth. Indeed, in the writings of Hegel, Karl Marx, and of the German historical school of jurisprudence, the real nature of historicism as an inverted or romantic form of rationalism becomes apparent."[42]

The United States of America had the supreme blessing of being born at a moment when, in these unsettled lands, the leaders of the three million inhabitants, in science, jurisprudence and religion held a common coherent conviction concerning the "laws of nature and of nature's God".

[41]John Witherspoon, The Druid No. II. The Pennsylvania Magazine, June, 1776. p. 253.

[42]M. R. Cohen, Jus Naturale Redivivus. The Philosophical Review, Vol. XXV, No. 6, November, 1916. pp. 763-64.

Every educated man, and by contagion, thinking people of less formal erudition, felt that they lived in a coherent world, a universe. Moreover, this truth was constantly enunciated from hundreds of pulpits in the weekly ministry of a great company of clergymen. It was alike the conviction of the Anglican and the Baptist; the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic; the Lutheran and the Congregationalist. It was the basis on which the Deist rested his confidence in natural religion, which was indeed a declension from revealed religion. It was even shared by the Indians who worshipped the Great Spirit, and watched a wonderfully articulate world of beasts, birds and trees which spoke to them daily.

Separated by the Atlantic Ocean, Britons on both sides were working from basically similar premises derived from the fabric of a common law and ancient tradition. In America the events which precipitated the Congress of 1774 were viewed with ever greater alarm as symptoms of a departure from a constitutional habit of the Empire which had been fixed again in 1688 on its ancient foundation. While the assembling of delegates had no blessing from the Crown, and was not for defense against a common enemy, it echoed the procedure which was entirely British in idea. The gathering of colonial delegates sprang from a demand to review the issues worked out in Britain the century before, from the reign of the first Charles to the end of the reign of the second James, including the inter-regnum of the Cromwells, father and son.

Lord North was Prime Minister. In the shock of second thought, produced by the effect of the Stamp Act (1765), a man was found to act as Secretary of State for the Colonies in the person of Lord Dartmouth. Dartmouth was known in the Colonies as a friend of the evangelical interest in religion. He helped all pious causes and was a friend to those who fought evil and challenged vice amid the deep corruption of the times. His broad and deeply religious spirit took to heart Wesley, Whitefield, and John Newton the converted slave trader, housed the poet, William Cowper in his depression, and granted gifts to help Indians to faith and a better fortune, thus founding the college which bears his name. Dartmouth wanted churchman and non-conformist, rich or poor, noble or commoner, being spiritual, to be brothers. When he finally took up his duties in August, 1772, "the news was hailed with satisfaction throughout America by people of all parties and indeed of every colour. ... When he allowed himself to become the instrument of an hostility which was foreign to his nature, and, it is to be feared, not consonant with his opinions, they diminished something from their respect, but he always retained their love."[43] This noble lord's name frequently appears in these pages.

The Congress which came to Philadelphia in 1774 was the first of a series which lasted until December 31, 1786. It

[43] Sir George O. Trevelyan, The American Revolution. London, 1899-1907. Vol. I, pp. 150-51.

met at Carpenter's Hall, reflecting the tentative acceptance which official circles in Pennsylvania felt at that time for the project. The State House, now for all time associated with our national birth, was the official Province building, while Carpenter's Hall was a private property "originally constructed for a hall of meeting for the Society of House Carpenters of Philadelphia".[44] It stands back from Chestnut Street on the south side between Third and Fourth Streets, is made of brick, three stories high, topped by a small steeple. Modern city planning has brought this historic building into greater visibility, more as it originally stood amid open spaces.

The First Congress lived out its life, September 5 to October 26, 1774, in Carpenter's Hall. It supported a resolution that another Congress assemble May 10, 1775, and sent the call back to its constituents. So the practice continued; each year the local authorities refreshed the Congress by re-electing sitting members or sending new delegates. From May 10th until the end of September, 1775 the Second Congress met in Carpenter's Hall. October 1st it moved to the State House and met there until the 20th of that grim December, 1776 when it retired to Baltimore in the face of military reverses. March 6, 1777, however, found it back at the State House buoyed by the stunning

[44]John F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia. W. P. Hazard ed., Philadelphia, 1861. Vol. I, p. 419.

strategy of Washington at Trenton and Princeton. But once again, in September, 1777, the tide of British military might was lapping close to the doorstep and the Congress withdrew to Lancaster and then to York. The Battle of Monmouth signaled another return to the State House where the Congress remained until June 21, 1783. Princeton entertained it from June 30th to November 4, 1783, then Annapolis was host from November 26, 1783 to August 19, 1784. Trenton was the next site, November 1 - December 27, 1784, and then the Continental Congress moved to New York on January 11, 1785 and remained there until its end on December 31, 1786. It had 2656 working days, and on 139 days adjourned either for lack of business or because of no quorum. During its life 337 different delegates sat. Fifty-six attended the first Congress.[45]

The clergy no less than the "man in the street" in the colonies were alert to the political movements "at home" (which was England). A Parliament came to an end and writs of election were issued in the late summer of 1774, under George Grenville's New Corrupt Practices Act which shook the dove-cots of a bad system but did not abolish it. Trevelyan said of this expiring Parliament: "It may be confidently asserted that the burden of proof rests with those who maintain that a worse Parliament ever sate than that which was elected in the spring of 1768".[46] This Parliament

[45] Journals of the Continental Congress - 1774-1789. Washington, 1904-1934.

[46] Trevelyan. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 218.

[blurred]

brought to a close its career with a series of Acts, the most notable being the Boston Port Bill, as common parlance named it, and from which the events of this book take their rise.

The contribution of the New England clergy has been dealt with generously. They deserve a large place. They had plenty of printing presses, a highly literate public, and they could actually make a bit of money selling their printed sermons. The Middle and Southern Colonies also had many clergymen, well trained and active in public affairs, but their work was not so commonly found in print. For example, the sermon preached in Bruton Parish Church at the request of the House of Burgesses on June 1, 1774, and ordered printed seems never to have actually appeared in type, through what was presumably inattention. That would not have happened in Boston.

We approach the clergy more as a whole band of men together, and not as denominational representatives. Each communion naturally has made it a point to underscore the part it had in the early life and direction of our nation, but the denominational approach is limited and sometimes extremely partial. The particular religious allegiance of a man is an important part of his character and influence, but the man beside him of a different group equally shares our interest. Without being politicians, the clergy were versed in basic political thinking through their reading and capable of making a contribution to the thought of the hour. While often alluded to and generally recognized as

existing, this influence has never been spread out for observation at one place on the broad front of the whole colonial seaboard, and among all the denominations.

These pages seek to set forth the parson in the context of the times, and suggest his particular contribution. It is an episodic story, where, it is hoped, the parts will gradually fall into a pattern as the reader proceeds. The first view is discursive as the eye lights upon political controversy in the hands of clergymen. It shifts to the familiar annual election day when sermons were part of the diet by ancient custom in New England. Here the chill of coming storms may be sensed. Virginia's response is peculiarly significant. Easy mannered Virginians take on a Puritan look as their planters ride to church on the great Fast Day. Philadelphia, where perhaps the signal was first given to make the day of application of the penal Port Bill on Boston a day of mournful observance up and down the seaboard, is canvassed with particular attention.

Philadelphia was to take the center of the stage. Local color becomes relevant to the atmosphere of the most famous caucus of public opinion ever held in our country. The coming of the delegates, the incidents of the first days of the Congress, all have quite easily marked clerical touches. The meetings of clerical bodies and the individualities of the particular clergymen alike played a part. There was an undercurrent of communication among churchmen and delegates and an interchange of opinion between friends

whom the occasion had thrown together for that momentous hour. Casual meetings often affect men's judgments, and figures rather vague in the distant scene had their moment of great importance. Nor may we forget the response of those who adhered to the Crown's position. The story of the Congress is not complete without the rebuttal. Patriotism in 1774 was not only that form which bore the title two years later. The dissent of some clergymen to the findings of the Congress was voiced with perfect confidence in the loyalty of their own views as to what was best for the colonies.

Assembling material for this survey has been the avocation of many years. Thanks to the generous interest of a friend, it has been possible to gather an extensive library of sermons, tracts and contemporary books. The responsibilities of an active pastorate over forty years have quickened sympathy for equally busy men of the 17th and 18th centuries. Behind these years there lies a very definite interest in public law, which was the object of university study. The first writing of this kind was an article published in 1917 in the American Journal of International Law. This study has been a pilgrimage among one's own kind, and from the yellow manuscript or quaint type a lot of overtones have come to hearten a twentieth century parson. Perhaps the effect will be felt among others, whether parsons or not.

Mutatis mutandis life in the late 18th century was as

frightening as in our own day. To us the picture seems darker because of the immensities of our dangers, but that is really only hindsight. Our forefathers had their dangers too. If you have never heard of an atom bomb, a tomahawk swung in the dark by a dusky savage upon the heads of helpless women and children is just as terrifying. If you know nothing of aerial warfare, the serried ranks of red-coats can be just as ominous. The vacuum of communications with its fancied crises is just as frustrating as the spate of news so largely propaganda. The advantage which many of our forefathers had over some of their descendants was the daily experience of a hard life against the background of a universe inhabited by God.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS PANORAMA 1774

There really were never two ways about it. The American Commonwealth was born in proper time. The days of her gestation in the fruitful womb of her mother were fully accomplished. She came forth a handsome offspring, the spit and image of her parent.

1763 was the high water mark of earnest anxious dependence of the Colonies upon the Mother Country. During the war between France and Britain for control of the continent, the money and men of the Colonies had made a significant, yea, a splendid contribution. With the Battle on the Plains of Abraham that conflict reached its conclusion. A vast territory was under the flag of St. George. A limitless West invited exploration. But, as happens, victory brought disaster. There came a turn in the tide of political thought in Westminster. The lavish donations of the Colonies were seen as a happy augmentation to the income of an increasingly hard pressed Exchequer. A horde of courtiers saw across the Western Sea a wonderful field for exploitation. A new era began.

Hundreds and thousands of emigrants left England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales for the Colonies. Opportunity beckoned with improvement for the thrifty and energetic and the hope of bettering the condition of the crowds out of employment at home. The news prints published weekly in a

score of the principal towns up and down the Atlantic seaboard were crowded with advertisements. There was land for sale. Real estate was booming. There were new machines for agriculture and industry. The larger cities saw hundreds of new dwellings going up, and crossroads were burgeoning into villages. John Witherspoon had time from his presidential duties at Nassau Hall to obtain 20,000 acres of new land for speculative purposes. George Washington had an advertisement of Ohio lands in the Philadelphia papers before he came to sit in the Congress. Overseas trade ran into the millions of pounds Sterling. Scores of colonials were in Europe for business, study or pleasure, and a procession of ships filled the sea lanes of the Atlantic. Every ship made copy for a display advertisement by some eager shopkeeper in Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, Charleston, and in other communities. The opportunities for the shopper were multitudinous. Delicate fabrics and stout cloths, soaps and perfumes, drugs and medicines, books and music, musical artists and dancing masters, teachers for young ladies and young gentlemen, all vied for the fancies of the genteel or the practical needs of the homemaker, mechanic and farmer. We view the panorama of the colonial scene from the standpoint of the colonial clergy. Being for the most part a highly educated group, and extremely vocal, as well as wielders, in many instances, of "the pen of a ready writer", their productions are intensely readable and, as one becomes accustomed to them, increasingly fascinating.

Ezra Stiles, even while a pastor in Newport, met and conversed with many leading individuals in the land, and his correspondence is astonishing. The files of his clerical correspondents, friends or acquaintances are extensive. His diary is an encyclopedia of all kinds of useful knowledge about the whole colonial scene. From the post-boy to the member of Congress, Stiles talked with them all, copied the information they brought, digested and surmised, and wrote it down. In a comparable degree, hundreds of other clergymen were close to the pulse of public affairs. Washington's letters to his friend, Jonathan Boucher, maintain the easy tone of well-established friendship. All the Election Day preachers were chosen by vote in the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts where the custom prevailed, and every town minister in New England was seated by the choice of the freemen. College faculties were almost exclusively clergymen. Frontier exploration was often made by missionaries like Charles Beatty, or the young Andrew Hunter and Philip Fithian in western Pennsylvania and Virginia. The readiest knowledge of Indian life and feelings could be obtained from Samuel Kirkland and others back to John Eliot at the beginning, men who preached in the Indian dialects and translated the Scriptures into the tongue of the redmen.

There were clergymen who had a personal eminence and wide influence: the Cottons, Mathers, Jonathan Edwards, John Wise, Jonathan Mayhew, Samuel Davies, the Tennents,

Skillman, Backus, Cooper, Chandler, Boucher, and many others throughout the Colonies affected the body politic. Trevelyan said of the New England clergy particularly, what was true of them all: "The judgment of the New Englanders on their rulers, when newspapers were few and cautious, was to be found in their sermons, which never flattered those whom the preachers and their hearers did not love."[47]

Some striking instances of this special influence may be cited. A letter from Jonathan Mayhew to James Otis during the Stamp Act troubles suggested an organized union of the colonies. Samuel Davies had Patrick Henry in his audiences in Hanover County, Virginia for nearly a decade. A book on church givernment by John Wise, printed in 1717, was re-printed in 1772 because it regained a new interest under the pressure of events. In the summer of 1774 John Dickinson, seeking to formulate resolutions for the Pennsylvania Convention, sought the advice of religious groups "in order to obtain an expression of opinion which could be relied upon". The enthusiastic preaching of John J. Zubly in 1775 brought Georgia into the Continental Congress, with Zubly as a delegate. Lyman Hall, another ordained minister, was a Georgia delegate. He signed the Declaration of Independence. The other clerical signer was John Witherspoon.

A preliminary consideration at once arises: where were the clergymen active in the colonies? How thickly were

[47]Ibid. Vol. I, p. 259.

churches distributed in the different parts of the country? No estimates can be more than approximate. During the first weeks of the Continental Congress the question of population came up as a means of weighing the votes of the various colonies. Ezra Stiles calls attention to the figures then submitted, comments upon them as excessive and offers some more conservative estimates. The population plan was abandoned by the Congress at that stage because of the obscurity of the facts. The United States Bureau of the Census gives figures for colonial population growth which may as well be relied upon as any others. However, these are totals for the various colonies. The texture of the population by religious affiliation can be discovered only by some dependence upon what the various groups thought of their own strength.

The numerical strength of the Baptists may be estimated from the Minutes of the Association held in Philadelphia in October, 1774. Churches are named in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, New York and Connecticut, with references to emissaries from other quarters of New England. Communicant members in the 39 churches definitely represented, number 2804. Messages received from Massachusetts and Virginia reported increases in membership and the formation of churches, three in each colony. A church in Connecticut sought admission to the Association and was received.[48]

[48] Minutes of the Baptist Association held in Philadelphia October 12, 13, 14, 1774. (Copy in the Library of the College of Pennsylvania)

their own strength.

Deacon Barker, a Baptist, visited Ezra Stiles in 1773 and brought a paper from the hand of the Rev. Morgan Edwards reporting on an itineration in the southern provinces made in 1772. This table showed:

	Churches	Ministers	Members	Families
Maryland	8	7	1437	857
Virginia	36	32	3633	8002
N. Carolina	32	30	3591	7950
S. Carolina	24	26	1186	1533
Georgia	4	1	116	105
	104	96	9963	20447

Souls, allowing 5 to a family, 102235 [49]

Ezra Stiles supplies a number of opinions on both the size of the general population and the number of clergy in the colonies. A visiting Lutheran pastor informed him there were one hundred Lutheran congregations scattered about the colonies.[50] From an "Address to the Episcopal Clergy", printed in a New York paper, Stiles notes "200" as being the number of clergy estimated among themselves as the total.[51] For the Congregationalists, Stiles makes this entry: "From a cursory Numeration in a pocket Almanack of 1774, I found in Massachusetts 317 Congrega. Ministers, of which 62 (above 70 or one fifth) were educated at Yale College, the rest chiefly at Harvard. In Connecticut, 158 Cong. Minrs. of which 19 Harv. 8 Nassau & 131 Yalensians. In N. Hamp. 71

[49] Ezra Stiles, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. F. B. Dexter, ed. N. Y. 1901. Vol. I, p. 330.

[50] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 472.

[51] Ibid. Vol. II, p. 46.

[illegible] Parker, a lawyer, visited Utah twice (in 1771 and 1772) [illegible] a paper from the hand of the boy. Topics [illegible] reporting on an [illegible] in the southern provinces [illegible] in 1772. Utah table showed:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible], allowing 5 to a family, [illegible]

[illegible] tables supplies a number of opinions on both the size of the general population and the number of slaves in the province. A startling unforeseen factor [illegible] slaves.[illegible] From an "Address to the Citizens [illegible]", printed in a New York paper, Wells notes "Odd" as being the [illegible] of slaves scattered among Dominion as the total.[illegible] [illegible] Jim Dunn-Lincoln, [illegible] a [illegible] in Dominion 317 Congress. Dinkerson, of which [illegible] of one fifth) were executed at Isla Ocelote, the most [illegible] [illegible] Jury, I Dunn & [illegible]

[illegible] Mrs. Wells, [illegible]

[illegible] Dunne, ed., N. [illegible] Vol. I, p. 3

[illegible], [illegible] I, p. 172.

[illegible], Vol. II, p. 69.

of which perhaps half a doz. Yale, rest Harv. In Rh. Isld. 9 of which 3 Yalensians. So in 1775 about Two hundred Yalensians in the Min'y in N. Eng'ld only. Perhaps Three hundred Harvardians. Total Ministers Cong. or Presb. about 555 A.D. 1775 or Commencement of the War, of which a few Collegues. About 64 Vacancies, besides the numerous initial Settlements in the New Towns. Total Cong. Chhs then 620 or above Six hundred in 4 N. Eng. Governments."[52] Stiles thought there were 530 churches in the four New England governments in 1760.[53]

We owe credit to Ezra Stiles also for some data on the Jews in the colonies. An accomplished Hebraist himself, Dr. Stiles enjoyed learned fellowship with such Rabbis as came his way. He gives a summary of the Jews in Newport in 1760, a total of 56 persons in 10 families. In a letter to a correspondent in London Stiles says he found, in 1764, the Newport community about the only one in New England. In December, 1763, the Jews opened a magnificent synagogue in Newport at a cost of two thousand pounds sterling, much admired by Dr. Stiles, and still an outstanding edifice. They also had a small synagogue in New York.[54] Around 1771 there were about a dozen Jewish families in Philadelphia.[55] In the summer of 1772 one Jewish family came to live in New Haven, at that time a community of 320 dwelling houses

[52]Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 415-16.

[53]Ibid. Vol. III, p. 147.

[54]Ibid. Vol. I, p. 11 and note.

[55]Ibid. Vol. I, p. 124.

with 50 to 60 adjacent farms. There were 50 Church of England families, and a dozen Sandamanian families. The Congregationalists, gathered in several churches, included 500 attending the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, (the First Church, founded 1639), 480 with the United Cong. Society, and 200 under the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Jr. in the "New Church". There were 150 Episcopalians at Trinity Church under the Rev. Bela Hubbard, and 30 Sandamanians with the Revs. Theophilus Chamberlain and Titus Smith. In addition, there were 120 students in the College (Congregational Church of Yale College).[56]

The compilations of the Rev. Frederick Lewis Weis, Th.D. for the Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, display with painstaking care as complete a list of churches and ministers as may be found. They fail to show the Quaker figures. The Friends were a very influential element in some of the colonies, especially in Pennsylvania, and strong in the Jerseys and in Delaware. Their lack of a ministry tended to make them inarticulate so far as published sermons go, but their actions at stated meetings got into the hands of the people in printed form. From a statistical analysis of Weis' valuable volumes, it is possible to schematize the number and denomination of the colonial churches at this period.

[56]Ibid. Vol. I, p. 283.

Denomination	Mass. (incl. Maine)	N.H. (incl. Vt.)	Conn.	R.I.	N.Y.	N.J.	Pa.	Del.	Md.	Va.	N.C.	S.C.	Ga.
Amish							5						
Baptist	35	10	17	35	18	32	54	2	11	100	51	32	6
Congreg.	198	80	199	12	14	2	1					4	1
Episcopal	18	2	37	4	35	28	29	12	50	114	23	22	5
Lutheran					36	20	143	4	14	5	4	7	4
Mennonite							57	2	2				
Methodist					4	2	8		2	1			
Moravian				1	5	17	42	1	1		5	1	
Pres.		4			61	74	117	28	32	67	24	4	6
Reformed	4				96	44	149	1	17	8	5	2	
R. Cath.					4	3	16	4	13				
Sandamanian	1		2										
Swenkfelder							1						
Unitarian	102	8	1	1									
Universalist	8		1			1							
Total	368	104	257	53	273	223	622	54	142	297	123	124	22
Total Pop.	330,750	104,750	197,856	53,500	180,000	123,500	292,500	31,000	225,000	~~250,000~~ 240,000	270,500	150,000	40,500
Inhabitants per church	898	1007	769	1000	659	553	470	574	1584	~~842~~ 808	~~2199~~ 2199	1209	1841

(19)

57

In the light of this analysis it is interesting to quote Ezra Stiles' observation on the relative enthusiasm of the various religious groups to the cause of the colonies as he

57 Rev. Frederick Lewis Weis

The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England. Lancaster, Mass. 1936.

The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776. Lancaster, Mass., 1938.

The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware and Georgia. Lancaster, Mass., 1950.

Attached table goes here

viewed it. He wrote in his Diary November 30, 1774: "Yesterday at Friends Meeting [was] dispersed printed Copy of the circular Letter from the Quaker Meeting at Philadelphia dated in Oct. last, dissuading from joyning or taking part in the present American Opposition to Parliament &c. I was shown & read the Letter last Evening. I suppose it to have been procured by ministerial influence. Great Efforts are made by the Ministry & their Connexions in America to detach the Baptists & Quakers thro'out America from the Continental Union: and also the Body of Episcopalians interspersed thro' the provinces North of Maryland - and with too much Success. A Languor prevails thro' these Bodies. Tho some few Baptists & Quakers are heartily with us, yet too many are so much otherwise, that was all America of their Temper or Coolness in the Cause the Parlt. would easily carry their Points & Triumph over American Liberty. Perhaps the Junction of the Baptists, Quakers, northern Episcopalians, Canadians, and the Crown Officers may form here among us a Body of near Two Hundred Thousand or less than a Quarter of a Million in an anti-American Interest; or who would acquiesce in the Loss of general Liberty under the Promises & Smiles of the Ministry & Parliament that they should share largely in the Spoils of their Country. Of the Whites I judge we have near Two Million Souls hearty and uncorrupted Friends of Liberty. These I trust hereafter have Occasion to make their Court to us. The Defence & Conservation of the public Liberty stands on the union of the Southern Episcopalians (who differ

on this point from their Northern Brethren) and the grand universal Body of Congregationalists & Presbyterians throughout the Continent."[58]

[58] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, pp.490-91.

The attitude of Baptists later changed as illustrated by a deposition presented by the Rev. Morgan Edwards to the Committee at White Clay Creek, Delaware on August 7, 1775, which ran as follows: "Whereas I have some time since frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotick struggle for the liberties of America, against the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry, which conduct has justly raised their resentment against me, I now confess that I have spoken wrong, for which I am sorry, and ask forgiveness of the publick; and I do promise, that for the future I will conduct myself in such a manner as to avoid giving offense, and, at the same time, in justice to myself, declare, that I am a friend to the present measures pursued by the friends of American liberty, and do heartily approve of them, and, as far as in my power, will endeavour to promote them." (Force, Peter, ed. American Archives. ... 4th. Series, Vol. I, pp. 280-82)

At the same time there came a change in public sentiment toward the Baptists as illustrated by the following minute in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives on October 30, 1775, viz., "The Committee on the Memorial of the Rev. Isaac Backus, agent for the Baptists reported, Read and accepted with amendment. Ordered, That Dr. Fletcher have liberty to bring in a Bill for the redress of such grievances as he apprehends the Baptists labour under." (Force, Vol. I, p. 1489)

Student opinion may be noted as a factor influencing clerical opinion in the Baptist college in Rhode Island.

PETITION OF THE SENIOR CLASS RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE (Brown University) TO THEIR PRESIDENT ETC.
College in Providence, June 8, 1775.
To the Reverend President (James Manning), Honourable Professor, and the rest of the Honourable Corporation of Rhode-Island College: the dutiful Petition of the Senior Class:

Most Worthy Patron: Deeply affected with the distresses of our oppressed Country, which now most unjustly feels the baneful effects of arbitrary power, provoked by the greatest

(continuation of Footnote #58)

height of cruelty and vengeance by the noble and manly resistance of a free and determined people, permit us, gentlemen, to approach you with this our humble and dutiful petition, that you would be pleased to take under your most serious consideration the propriety of holding the ensuing Commencement in a publick manner, as usual; whether such a celebration of that anniversary would be in conformity to the eighth article of the Association formed by the Grand American Congress, and which all the Colonies are now religiously executing, and that you would be pleased to signify unto us your resolution respecting the same, that we may govern ourselves accordingly. Signed by Committee of the Senior Class.

Josiah Read
Andrew Law
James Fulton

(Force, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 935-36)

The eighth article referred to reads:

"That we will, in our several stations, encourage Frugality, Economy, and Industry, and promote Agriculture, Arts, and the Manufactures of the Country, especially that of Wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of plays, shews, and the expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfes at funerals." (Force, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 914-15)

With the precocity which student bodies have ever had to bring pressure on their academic superiors, this petition served its purpose for the college authorities granted the request to omit a "publick" aspect of the ensuing commencement, while maintaining the academic life of the institution in other respects. (Force, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 936)

This opinion research on the part of Dr. Stiles is a remarkable compliment to his industry and also to his prescience. He was somewhat in error because, as it turned out, the Baptists became almost unanimously for "the Defense and Conservation of the public Liberty". Dr. Stiles illustrates the fact that not only could one clergyman, of extraordinary acumen, be possessed of a sound understanding of the conditions of current thought, but that clergymen in general both entertained accurate knowledge and strongly contributed to public opinion itself. Further discussion of contemporary issues by the clergy will serve to illustrate the extent to which they confidently took part in questions of the day. They were well versed in controversy on a high intellectual level and enjoyed being genuine leaders of opinion.

CHAPTER III

THE CLERGY IN CONTROVERSY

The early part of 1774 witnessed a debate between two clergymen over a question of great public interest involving some intricate political questions and explosive consequences, namely the Susquehannah Land Case. On January 12, 1774 the Rev. Dr. William Smith (aet. 47) of Philadelphia published An Examination of the Connecticut Claim to Lands in Pennsylvania with an Appendix, Containing Extracts and Copies taken from Original Papers. He sent a copy to a Connecticut friend and clerical colleague, the Rev. Samuel Johnson (aet. 47) who replied from Stratford on January 29th. "I received it at Hartford, but so eager were those who are the most eager in the affair of the controverted Lands (of which I am not one) to see its contents, that I was not allowed to keep it in my hands an hour, and I have never been able to get a sight of it since."[59] It was straightway answered by the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull (aet. 39) of Hebron, Connecticut with a publication entitled A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands Lying West of the Province of New York. The first draft of this appeared in successive numbers of The Connecticut Journal, March 25, April 1 and 8, and in pamphlet form in June. Each ran into a matter of more than

[59] Horace Wemyss Smith, Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D. Philadelphia, 1879. Vol. I, pp. 487-88

CHAPTER III

THE SLAVERY IN CONTROVERSY

one hundred pages.

The controversy sprang from the wording of grants and charters made in the early 17th century which described patents as extending "to the South Sea", which meant, in effect, the Pacific Ocean. Actual occupation of such a fantastic domain had, of course, to wait upon settlement, which was painfully slow but remarkably persistent. Meanwhile, Britain went through the turmoil of revolution. James I, Charles I, The Long Parliament, The Protector, Charles II, and James II successively headed the State. New Amsterdam was renamed New York. William Penn had acquired a vast holding. The Indian tribes were moved backwards by purchase or conquest. In the middle of the 18th century, with thousands of immigrants pouring onto the Atlantic seaboard, land boundaries took on new significance.

The Susquehannah Land Company, a group of some eight hundred energetic Yankees, proposed to develop a pleasant countryside on the upper reaches of the east branch of the Susquehanna River at Wyoming and vicinity. Settlers moved in, to find other settlers in possession with deeds from the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. In 1773 the Connecticut legislature endorsed this projected settlement on their unclaimed possession toward "the South Sea" and a first class legal issue was posed. There is a voluminous body of documentary material used by the two learned clergymen

which does great credit to their political researches but is too lengthy to be made use of here.

In the contemporary setting of the rising trouble there were reverberations which are our immediate concern. The two disputants, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, arguing across the apple-cart might easily upset the cart in the course of the dispute about whose were the apples. Hardy settlers with rival titles were on the ground and breaking into a bloody contest. Legal authorities in England who had written opinions on the matter, turned up in embarrassing roles. Lord Camden, who was becoming the darling of the colonists because of his opposition to the Boston Port-Bill which began to move through Parliament in March, 1774, had written against Connecticut. Alexander Wedderburn, who earlier had been a signer to another bit of high legal counsel favorable to Pennsylvania, lost favor and was burned in effigy in Philadelphia on May 4, 1774.[60]

The action of the Connecticut government to prosecute the claim, carried with it the dispatch of a delegation to visit Philadelphia and talk to Governor John Penn. This was in December, 1773. Eliphalet Dyer, Silas Deane, and Roger Sherman were made members of this deputation, and Col. Dyer actually attended the meeting. Governor Penn responded that

[60]Alexander Wedderburn was an English jurist who with Edward Thurlow, Richard Jackson and J. Dunning, gave an opinion on the Connecticut claims in Pennsylvania. (See Benjamin Trumbull, A Complete History of Connecticut, Civil and Ecclesiastical, etc., New Haven, 1818. Vol. II, pp. 472-73.) The decision was claimed by both colonies, but later Wedderburn became the advocate of harsh measures on the part of government.

so far as Pennsylvania was concerned there was nothing to discuss. They were acting on the patent granted in 1681 to William Penn. Alleged prior grants, if valid, would have to be settled by Government, namely the King in Council, to which appeal must be made. This would be a highly expensive enterprise and one fraught with considerable risk, more risk to Connecticut than to Pennsylvania, as matters then stood.

Mr. Trumbull wrote in June: "Had the king, at the time when letters patent were granted to Sir William Penn, been actually vested with the right of said lands, then it is true that the charter of Sir William would be pleadable against the claim of Connecticut; but as the king by previous grants had conveyed the same lands under the great seal to others, it is most absurd to suppose, that without any forfeiture or surrender of the prior grant, or any public act or process against it, making it null and void, he could make an effectual conveyance of it to any person whatsoever. All the right, of which the king could possibly be possessed, in 1620, when the great patent of New-England was issued, by royal authority, actually passed from the sovereign and became vested in fact in the great Plimouth company. To suppose that the right and title to said lands did, or could remain in the sovereign after said grant, is in effect to say that nothing was conveyed or granted; or that royal grants and conveyances are mere nullities, and that title and property remain after they are most amply made and confirmed, just as they were before; than which there cannot

be a greater absurdity; nor yet a greater reflection upon crowned heads. But if the right and title did pass from the king to the Plimouth company, then it most certainly passed also from them to the earl of Warwick, and to lord Say and Seal, &c. and, also to the colony of Connecticut, as there is the clearest evidence, that said patent to the earl of Warwick, of which he made a consignment to lord Say and Seal, &c. was purchased by the Connecticut planters and confirmed to them, by royal authority, in their renewed letters patent.

"FURTHER the king having once made a conveyance of his right could not resume said right and become again vested with it, without some forfeiture, surrender, or legal process, for much the same reasons, as he could not remain vested with the title and property after he had made royal conveyances of them to his subjects. If the king hath a right to resume his own grants at all, he hath a right to do it immediately, in one moment after they have passed the great seal, as well as a year, or twenty, or a hundred years after. But to suppose this, is in fact to suppose, as before, that grants from the crown are of no validity or importance, and that colonies are just as well without them, as with them; which may by no means be supposed."[61]

And further: "As to this objection, that were our title good and valid in law, there would be no prospect of success,

[61] Benjamin Trumbull, A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands, Lying West of the Province of New York. New-Haven, 1774. pp. 31-33.

as the cause will never be determined either on principles of law or equity, but wholly on state reasons, and principles of policy; I would reply, That it does little honor indeed to his majesty in council, and is such an injurious imputation on that high court of the nation, that I had much rather it should be made by others than myself. I will maintain nobler sentiments of his majesty, and of that high court. Indeed Connecticut have reason to entertain sentiments entirely different from these. In the controversy between Connecticut and Rhode-Island, respecting the Narragansett country, which lasted more than sixty years, the king and his commissioners rigidly adhered to the charter of Connecticut, and the cause was determined according to priority of grant and strict law, time after time, in favor of the colony. Had not Connecticut given up the country, in dispute, by agreement, it is probable, it never would have been adjudged to Rhode-Island.

"In the controversy between this colony and Mason, money was advanced by the lords and noblemen to assist him in the prosecution of his suit. They could expect nothing but to lose the whole of it, if the cause should go against him. Yet, when law and equity appeared to be on the side of Connecticut, the cause, even against their own particular interest, was determined in favor of the colony.

"FURTHER, the sentiment which the objection would insinuate is big with the most dangerous and absurd consequences, and has a most mischievous and destructive aspect. For if

charters are not legal conveyances of lands, jurisdiction, and privileges, and are not to be construed and acted upon according to the true and natural meaning of what they express, explained and understood in the most favorable point of light for the several corporations to which they are granted, but are to be considered and acted upon only in a political-view, as the king and his council shall judge best for them, then they are good for nothing, they are no security at all, and there is in fact nothing conveyed or secured by them. They leave matters just where they found them. This is, at once, in effect, to demolish all charters and patents. If what the objection seems to aim at were true, corporations are just as well without them as with them. They are left wholly at the arbitrary will of their sovereign, and the royal declaration under the broad seal stands for nothing. This is a principle therefore too absurd and shocking to be admitted. It is also contrary to what is true in fact. Charters and royal conveyances are not viewed and treated in this manner, nor have they been. But on the contrary, jurisdiction, privileges, and property have been, time immemorial, considered as legally conveyed and secured by them, agreeably to the natural and genuine meaning of them; and have been looked upon as the most permanent security, which subjects can have, of right and property. In fine, the supposition that royal grants, under the great seal, are binding only so far as shall please the king, and that what he is to regard in determining points relative to them is not what is just and legal, but what shall

suit his own convenience, at that time, at once renders the king and his council ridiculous, tends to destroy all mutual confidence between him and the subject, and is pregnant with destruction to all civil peace, liberty and happiness."[62]

The Pennsylvania Examiner which Dr. Smith wrote in late April, 1774 set forth a reply to Trumbull's Plea. He quotes from Trumbull: "It is not in the power of the King in consistency with the constitution to determine the rights, claims and property of his subjects."[63] Dr. Smith reveals in his criticism of Mr. Trumbull his realization of the constitutional question which was vital. And, moreover, he shows in his earlier tract the dangerous consequences which might ensue upon any re-opening of the basic question of the validity of century-old patents. Smith quotes "an eminent lawyer in a neighboring province", "For Connecticut to claim any Part of what is West of the Line confirmed by King William in 1700, may be of fatal Consequence to its Charter, which it has long enjoyed without any Enquiry into its Validity; but if they disturb New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania, it of Course will set them to enquiring into its Validity, and to bring it to the Test by scire facias, or quo warranto; and if in the issue of these it cannot stand the Test, then it may be adjudged void, --- and they by their Claims will have acted the Part of the Dog in the Fable; by catching at the

[62]Ibid. pp. 92-93.

[63]Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 55. May 5, 1774. p. 1.

Shadow, let go the Substance.

"When your general Court shall seriously consider this, I believe they will think they have great Reason to thank whoever advised them to beware of the Precipice, which they must unavoidably have fallen into, by granting the Prayer of that Petition with 400 Hands to it."[64]

Smith goes on to say: "Upon the whole, I think it fully appears that the Claim of Connecticut Colony to Lands within the Limits of Pennsylvania, the forcible Possession which

[64] William Smith, An Examination of the Connecticut Claims to Lands in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1774. p. 84.

The Pennsylvania Gazette for January 12, 1774 advertised this as "just published" and the Pennsylvania Journal printed a similar advertisement on January 19th. After two hundred copies were run off the press, Smith added a "Postscript, Jan. 14, 1774" based on the action of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, January 13th, to this effect:

"Resolved, That a Number of Persons emigrating from the Colony of Connecticut, under a Pretence of Right to Lands within the Limits and Boundaries of the Royal Grant to the Proprietaries of this Province, without prosecuting their Claim before his Majesty in Council, the only proper Place of Decision, have in a riotous and tumultuous manner taken possession of a large Tract of Country within the said known Limits and Boundaries; and have held, and still retain their said Possessions in a hostile Manner, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of this Province ... Resolved, That the Governor be earnestly requested to give special Directions to all Magistrates, Sheriffs, and other Officers concerned ... to be vigilant and active in the discharge of their Duty ... in quieting and suppressing all Acts of Violence and every illegal Attempt to dispossess the peaceable Inhabitants of this Province." (pp. 93-94)

their People have taken of those Lands, and the Shelter yielded by them to the public Violators of our Laws; are measures so little warranted by their Charter, that the same may yet be found fatal to it. May further, it is much to be feared that these Measures, being pursued under Colour of a pretended Purchase from the Indians, may yet involve us in a WAR with them."[65]

On May 18th the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters (aet. 70), veteran public servant as well as senior minister at Christ Church Philadelphia, wrote Henry Wilmot in London, on behalf of Governor John Penn. In his letter he describes the matter as he had known it since 1741. "In the year 1753," Peters wrote, "I received information of a claim set up by some Connecticut people to a degree of longitude within this Province in virtue of the Connecticut Charter, and that there was a party gone into the Indian country to make a purchase of lands between Susquehanna and Delaware, to begin at or near Wyomink." The next year, Peters relates, at the Albany Congress where he was a delegate with John Penn, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, the matter was again discussed. Peters describes the report that a tavern keeper in Albany had induced a number of Indians, when under the influence of liquor, to sign a certain paper which was later sold to the Susquehanna Company, who in turn made use of it in their

[65]Ibid. pp. 91-92.

supposed claim to the government of Connecticut.[66]

Trumbull and Smith were able antagonists and the time of their controversy was momentous. Trumbull's father was a first cousin of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, the elder. Dexter describes the Trumbull paper as Trumbull's "first extended attempt at historical writing" and adds, "To this, more than to any other single influence, is said, to have been due the allowance of the claim of Connecticut to the Western-Reserve lands."[67]

The issue was acute and disturbing. It came before the Congress when it assembled in September, 1774 and was deferred to the next Congress. But it reappeared many times, through 1775 and into 1776. There is a minute crossed out, September 30, 1775. October 7th a petition came from the Pennsylvania Assembly. October 9th the delegates of the two colonies were made a committee to deal with it. October 14 they came back to Congress asking for a committee of other than Connecticut and Pennsylvania men. John Rutledge (S.C.), Sam'l Chase (Md.), Thos. Jefferson (Va.), James Kinsey (N.J.), and Stephen Hopkins (R.I.) were named. November 4 there came an alarm of hostile action. November 7, John Dickinson asked Congress on what authority they had such a report. December 20 Congress urged that contention cease, that property be restored,

[66] Peter Force, ed. American Archives ... 4th Series. Washington, 1837-1844. Vol. I, pp. 288-292.

[67] Franklin B. Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals. New York, 1896. Vol. II, p. 624.

free movement allowed by both parties, and both sides "behave themselves peaceably ... until a legal decision can be had".[68]

Meanwhile both colonies were joining in the common effort. Consideration of the problem was sometimes set aside by Congress to hear letters from General Washington. It remained for the Supreme Court of the United States to finally put a period to the controversy and take the place of the King in Council. In the Circuit Court, Pennsylvania District, Justices Paterson and Peters, in the April term of 1795 adjucated a case entitled Van Horne's Lessee versus Dorrance, wherein the issue was settled before a jury.

The abstract claim of Connecticut was deemed of "no avail: because the land in controversy is ex-territorial, it does not lie within the charter-bounds of Connecticut". The Indian sale to the Susquehanna Land Company was found defective. Rights under the law of Pennsylvania were carefully studied and the method taken by the State of Pennsylvania to quiet conflicting claims was invalidated because adjustment was to be made by a legislative commission which set at nought basic principles: There was no agreement by the parties, or by their duly appointed agents, and no jury made the award.

Mr. Justice Paterson had this to say: "The constitution expressly declares, that the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property is natural, inherent and unalienable.

[68] Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Washington, 1904-1934. Vol. III, p. 440. For other allusions see minutes of day named.

It is a right not ex gratia from the legislature but ex debito from the constitution. It is sacred; for, it is further declared, that the legislature shall have no power to add to, alter, abolish, or infringe any part of the constitution. The constitution is the origin and measure of legislative authority. It says to legislators, thus far ye shall go and no further. Not a particle of it should be shaken; not a pebble of it should be removed. Innovation is dangerous. One encroachment leads to another; precedent gives birth to precedent; what has been done may be done again; thus radical principles are generally broken in upon, and the constitution eventually destroyed.[69] Dr. Edward S. Corwin adds, alluding to the case, "In accordance with this doctrine fortified by natural law concepts, the circuit court invalidated a Pennsylvania statute as being in conflict with the Federal and State Constitutions, as a violation of the inaliemable rights of property".[70]

[69] 2 Dallas (1795) pp. 305-312.

[70] Edward S. Corwin, The Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretations. Washington, 1953. p. 960.

CHAPTER IV

ALARMS AND EXCURSIONS

On May 17, 1774 the Episcopal Clergy of New York and New Jersey met in convention at Trinity Church, New York. It was the occasion for the annual commencement of King's College. It was the moment when Paul Revere was in the city en route with the appeal of the Bostonians to all "to the southward" who would be their friends in the crisis. Having dispatched Revere the freeholders and citizens of Boston adjourned on the 18th to await a reply to their messenger's mission. Revere got away from New York "about noon" on the 18th so he was galloping along the pleasant roads of Jersey when the following communication was being put on paper.*

My Lord,

It is at the desire of the Clergy of New York, that I transmit the inclos'd Address to your Lordship: It was sent to me without a seal with an intention that I might be inform'd of the subject matter contain'd in it, and thus inform'd might recommend it to your Lordship's Protection. The persons who have sign'd it are men of character in their profession, and have so often given me their opinions upon the same subject, that I cannot doubt of their real conviction of the expediency of an American Episcopate.

I need not observe to your Lordship that it has long

been the general wish of the English Bishops, who have ever thought it a hardship to the Church of England in America to be depriv'd of so essential a part of their Constitution, and are firmly persuaded, that, had the measure been adopted, when first propos'd upon that moderate plan which even many of the serious Dissenters in this Country have thought reasonable it would have been the best security of the affections of the Colonies, and given real strength to Government.

I presume not to offer my own opinion with regard to the seasonableness of the present time for carrying such a plan into execution. It would be hazarding too much for me to determine upon a matter of so much importance at so critical a conjuncture: Your Lordship and the other servants of the Crown, best inform'd of the Temper and Circumstances of that Country can alone judge, when and what regard shall be paid to the representations of the Clergy, who feel and complain of the imperfect state of their religious establishment: I am well satisfied (and I wish upon every occasion to confirm the Clergy in the same sentiment) that no one will give a more serious attention to them than your Lordship, and that when a remedy can be apply'd with safety, there will not be wanting a disposition in those, who have the honour of serving the Crown, to grant it.

Dr. Cooper of New York mentions an Appeal from a Decree of Governor Tryon's in a cause betwixt Mr. Bloomer the Minister, and the Church Wardens of the Parish of Jamaica in that Province, in which the Clergy of the Established

Church are very materially interested, and particularly sollicits the attention of their Friends, whenever the cause comes to a hearing. It will scarce, I presume, be heard before the winter. Your Lordship may probably have had an application to the same purpose.

It was my intention, when I sat down to write, to recommend the 3 Protestant Ministers in the Province of Quebeck to your Lordship's Protection in procuring them an additional salary, but as I found when I had the honour of seeing your Lordship, that it was part of your intended plan, it is unnecessary for me to say any thing upon that subject.

I have the honour to be

My Lord,

Tunbridge Wells — Your Lordship's most obedient

July 14, 1774. — & most humble Serv't.

Ric: London

May it please your Lordship,

We, his Majesty's ever dutiful and loyal subjects, the Episcopal Clergy of the Provinces of New-York and New-Jersey, now met together in voluntary Convention, beg leave to address your Lordship on the present critical situation of American Affairs; and to request your Lordship's friendly interposition in behalf of the National Church in his Majesty's American Plantations, at a time when probably a plan is to be settled for the future regulation of the Colonies. The consideration

of your Lordship's eminent station, which entitles you to a peculiar influence in all matters within the American Department, has not contributed more to our presuming to give your Lordship this trouble, than the esteem we have for your excellent and amiable private character, and the confidence we have in your disposition to promote the interest and honour of our Church, as far as may be consistent with the rights and safety of others, upon which we have no desire to intrude.

Hitherto, through the want of an Episcopate, may it please your Lordship, the Church of England in America has had but an imperfect existence; and the members of it have reason to complain, of their not having obtained the full exercise of their religion, which has been freely granted to every other Denomination of Christians within the British Dominions, and without which it always has been, and must continue to be, in a dejected and suffering state. It appears to us to be a great and unparalleled hardship, that an episcopal Church, consisting of near a Million of Members, should be permitted to have no connexion with Bishops, but at the distance of Three Thousand Miles; and that a national Church should not be allowed the enjoyment of equal privileges with all, or any, other Churches, in Colonies dependent upon that Nation which has thought it worthy of an Establishment at home, is a case which is recorded in no history but that of America.

Yet such is the situation of the Church of England in these Colonies. Although its Constitution indispensibly requires the frequent exercise of episcopal offices, and resident Bishops to perform these offices have been often and earnestly requested, during a course of more than seventy years, by the most respectable of our Clergy and Laity, yet none have been granted us: And under this deficiency, our Clergy are still without that proper superintendency and direction, which would add greatly both to their usefulness and happiness; not a candidate amongst us can obtain ordination, without undertaking a dangerous and expensive voyage across the Atlantic; and no opportunities are afforded us of receiving the useful, venerable and apostolic Rite of Confirmation, for which we have the highest esteem.

These disadvantages and hardships can, in the nature of things, admit of no remedy, but that of an American Episcopate: And, an Episcopate that is adapted to the state of the Colonies, and agreeable to the plan which has been long prepared by the Bishops in England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as it would relieve the necessities of the Church here, and cannot interfere, in any degree, with the privileges of other Christians, we beg leave to recommend as liable to no material objections on the part of Americans.

The above mentioned plan has been repeatedly published in the Colonies, and people have been invited to propose their objections. In the public debates that ensued, we were able to discover the whole strength, or rather the

weakness, of our adversaries; and although much indecent opposition was made to the scheme, on the principles of jealousy or intolerance, yet the plea of the Church was supported by arguments, that remain to this day unanswered, and which we are fully convinced are really unanswerable. But we mean not to trouble your Lordship with a detail of these transactions, which are well known to the Lord Bishop of London and many other eminent Prelates; but only to suggest, that the equity of our claim appears to us to be now fairly established on the arguments and concessions of its opposers, as well as on the more solid foundation of reason and fitness.

Were our case to be considered in a merely political light, without any regard to the motives of religion, justice or humanity, it would, in our humble opinion, afford strong reasons for, at least, relieving the American Church, by granting it the use of its own institutions. The important duties of Loyalty to the King and peaceable submission to his Government not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake, we may venture to assert, are no where in America taught so clearly, recommended so frequently, and urged so forcibly, as in our Churches. Not a single Clergyman amongst us (we speak of the Colonies to the northward of Maryland, with which we are best acquainted) has been known to countenance that turbulent spirit which has lately been too predominant in this Country; but we have all thought it our duty to discourage and counteract it to the utmost of our ability. The Lay-Members of our Church have, in general, been confessedly

more moderate in their resentments of what has been thought ill treatment by the Mother Country, than people of most other religious professions; and many of them have had the courage to remonstrate openly against the rash and unwarrantable proceedings of their neighbors. These, may it please your Lordship, are undoubted facts; we have not scrupled to assert them in public; and should the assertions be questioned, we are ready to undertake the defence of them.

As to an insinuation which we understand has been made by some persons at home, with a view of obstructing the design of an American Episcopate, namely, that such an appointment would have a tendency to render the Colonies independent upon the Parent Kingdom; nothing appears to us to be more wild, and extravagant, and groundless. If none be appointed Bishops in the Colonies, but persons of the most approved Loyalty and Fidelity; then our Bishops will undoubtedly exert their influence, not to excite a disposition in the Colonies to revolt, but to strengthen their attachment to the Mother Country. But even if principles are not to be relied on, it will still be an effectual bar against their promoting the Independency of the Colonies, that, according to the plan for which we have pleaded, the fund by which they are to be supported is in England, and not in the Colonies. And it is inconcievable [sic] to us, that besides the sacrifice of honour and conscience, they would be willing to risque a certain support, in the precarious project of such a revolution. Whereas, on the other hand, the refusal of an

Episcopate, so often requested, may, in a course of time, wean the members of the American Episcopal Church from a Parent, that goes on to neglect them: And then, they will be ready to join with others, in some plausible scheme of providing for themselves.

How far it may be proper to bring the proposed Episcopate under the direction of Parliament, of which the Dissenters are jealous, we presume not to say. The case is freely submitted to your Lordship's wisdom and prudence, of which we have the highest opinion. We have always declared, and declared with sincerity, that we have no more to ask from Government in its behalf, than a consent to its existence. However, such marks of approbation as cannot be construed to be burthensome to the public, if the Government shall see fit to give, they will be recieved [sic] with gratitude.

And here, with the greatest deference and submission, we would take the liberty of pointing out to your Lordship, the general benefit that would arise to our Church, under an Episcopate, if our Bishops should be allowed the privilege of franking the letters to and from themselves; which would open an easy and cheap intercourse between them and their Clergy, free from an expense, which the latter, in the northern Colonies, can but badly afford.

We rely on your Lordship's known goodness to excuse the length and the freedom of this address; and, recommending the cause of our Church to so illustrious a Patronage, we take leave of your Lordship with earnest and devout prayers

for your happiness, both in this world and a better.

Signed by Order of the Convention

New-York, May 18th, 1774 The Committee

Samuel Auchmuty, D.D.
Rector of Trinity Church, New York

Thomas B. Chandler, D.D.
Rector of St. John's Church
in Eliz:Town, New-Jersey

Myles Cooper, LL.D.,
Presd't of King's College

John Ogilvie, D.D.
Assistant Minister in Trinity Church, New York

Samuel Seabury, M.A.
Rector of the Parish of West Chester,
Province of New York

To the Right Honorable
The Earl of Dartmouth

DARTMOUTH'S REPLY

Gentlemen:

I have received thro' the hands of the Bishop of London, the honor of your letter of the 18 of May.

I am unwilling to omit the first opportunity to assure you of my very hearty concurrence with you in your sentiments & wishes on the great & important subject of an American Episcopate, & I shall expect to hear stronger arguments than any I have yet met with, before I can be induced to give up my opinion of the propriety of such an Establishment upon the wise & equitable plan that has been proposed.

I do not conceive that it will be necessary to bring the matter before Parliament, but in what manner or at what time

Gentlemen:

I have received thro' the hands of the Bishop of London the favour of your letter of the 18 of May.

I am unwilling to omit the first opportunity to assure

soever it may be thought fit to proceed in it, my endeavors shall not be wanting to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

I am, Gentlemen

14 July, 1774

As an incidental foot-note to this letter we point out that Samuel Seabury, last on the list of signers, a simple M.A. from Yale among doctors of Oxford, was the first American bishop. He was ordained by prelates in Scotland, the Presbyterian strong-hold where Episcopacy was a dissenting sect.

Commissioners coming to Philadelphia to attend the Presbyterian Synod, May 18, 1774, saw the first impact of the Port-Bill upon Philadelphians. While the city was seething the meetings of the Synod were progressing. After a week's meetings in this atmosphere they adjourned and the commissioners went home into eight of the thirteen colonies. From every colony except New England and Georgia, Presbyterian ministers had come to sit in their annual judicatory, and with them went back all the news and comment on the great matters raised by the action of Parliament. The colonies were represented at the Synod by minister commissioners as follows: Pennsylvania 22, New Jersey 14, Delaware 7, Maryland 4, New York 2, North Carolina 1, South Carolina 2, and Virginia 1. They convened on the day before the news arrived. Leaving the church the opening day the delegates had before them The Pennsylvania Gazette (predecessor of the Saturday Evening Post). Besides

repeating the Port-Bill and petition by the Americans in London, it carried a half column signed "A Philadelphian" and addressed "To the Freemen of America". Prophetically, this article traces the general line of argument which became the theme of general consideration, and its heads ultimately found their way into the Declaration of Independence.

It said:

"PHILADELPHIA, May 18.
To the FREEMEN OF AMERICA.

"It is impossible to review the Advantages we derive from our Connection with Great-Britain, without wishing it to be perpetual. We were formed by her Laws and Religion ---we are cloathed with her Manufactures---and protected by her Fleets and Armies. Her Kings are the Umpires of our Disputes, and the Center of our Union. In a Word, the Island of Britain is the Fortress in which we are sheltered from the Machinations of all the Powers of Europe. No Wonder, therefore, we look forward with Horror to those Convulsions that must attend (Ages hence) our Separation from that Country.

"The Councils of a State, like the Faculties of the Mind, are liable to Prejudice and Decay.---The Conduct of the British Parliament towards America, for several Years past, carries strong Marks of Insanity and Folly. The Laws of Mechanics apply in Politics, as well as Philosophy. A Grain of Wisdom, properly managed, will out-weigh, in this Science, the whole Armies and Navies of Britain.

"We have been in some Measure passive Spectators of the Manoeuvres of our Mother Country. A Stamp-act---Revenue Acts

---A Board of Commissioners---Judges of Admiralty, invested with new Powers---The Military set over the Civil Governors, and both rendered independent of the People---Restrictions on our Trade---Dissolutions of our Assemblies--and disregarded Petitions for Redress of these Grievances---have all been borne with a Temper and Moderation, which shew how much we value Peace and Order, and how inestimable we esteem the Advantages of being connected with Great-Britain. We have only asserted our Right to Freedom. This has produced in some Places a few trifling Commotions, but these were conducted only by Mobs, who are always the first-born Offspring of Oppression, and who are not unknown even in Britain, and particularly remembered there for having insulted our King a few Years ago at his Palace Gates. Future Ages will hardly believe that we were descended from British Ancestors, when they read of our having borne so long, and resented so feebly, the Outrages committed by a British Parliament upon the dearest Birthright of a Briton.

"Moderation and Gratitude are sometimes an Over-balance for Self-preservation. The first Law of Nature cannot be contradicted by any social or national Obligations. The Man, who refuses to assert his Right to Liberty---Property and Life---is guilty of the worst Kind of Rebellion. He commits High-Treason against GOD.

"Liberty--Property and Life--are now but Names in America. Liberty is levelled by the [sic] declarative Act of Parliament to tax us without our Consent---Property is

now annihilated by the late Act of Parliament, which destroys the Trade of Boston. Our Countrymen are condemned without being heard---A whole Community suffers for the Conduct of a few Individuals---Newspapers, and a private Letter from a Governor, are their only Accusers---and Thousands, accustomed to Affluence, are reduced to the lowest Species of Poverty. 'They cannot work---and to beg they are ashamed.' We dare not call even our Lives our own. The next Act of Parliament may summon our Assemblymen and Patriots, to expiate their Virtue at Tyburn.

"New-York, Philadelphia and Charles-Town, cannot expect to escape the Fate of Boston. Our Doom is delayed only with a View of Dividing and weakening us. We have offered the same indignity to the British Parliament, and have done nearly the same Injury to the Property of the East-India Company. When the Spirits of our Brethren in Boston are subdued, our Rivers and Shores will probably be crowded with Men of War, and lined with Tide-waiters.

"An Union of the Colonies, like an Electric Rod, will render harmless the Storms of British Vengeance and Tyranny. Remember, my dear Countrymen, we are contending for the Crown and Prerogative of our King, as well as for Liberty---Property and Life.---The British Parliament have violated the Constitution, in usurping his supreme Jurisdiction over us. Our Brethren in Boston may perhaps stand in Need of our Counsels. Every Stroke, aimed at them, is levelled against the Vitals

of all America. Success has hitherto crowned our Attempts to save our Country. Virtue---Unanimity and Perseverance---are INVINCIBLE."

"A PHILADELPHIAN."[71]

"A Philadelphian" sent other letters to the press and his identity is a nagging puzzle. One would like to see a parson in the role but the Anglicans would not write so, nor the Lutherans. The Presbyterians were involved just then in their synod. May 26th "They took into their serious consideration the dark and threatening aspect of our public affairs both civil and religious" and set a day of prayer for June 15th.[72] Could it have been Charles Thomson? The evidence points somewhat in that direction. Thomson, a "high son of liberty" and secretary to the Committee of Correspondence, was busy prodding John Dickinson. When Congress was organized he was immediately drafted as secretary and such a letter to the press could have served Jefferson's turn quite nicely for seed thoughts. There is, however, no positive proof of the author's identity.

Commissioners to the Synod ere they went to bed on the second day of their annual meeting might have seen the arrival of a travel worn rider on a jaded horse. It was Paul Revere completing one half of a ride as important as the one he made

[71]Pennsylvania Gazette. No. 2369. May 18, 1774. p. 3, col. 2.

[72]Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Philadelphia (1853)

[72]Pennsylvania Gazette. No. 2369, Dec 16, 1773. p. 2.

[73]Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
(1893)

eleven months later. News of the Boston Port-Bill reached Boston May 10th, a Tuesday. On Friday, the 13th, a town meeting at Boston drew up a letter to the colonies to the southward, describing their plight and asking for a common stand. Saturday, May 14th, Revere took horse at two in the afternoon with dispatches for New York, Philadelphia and points south. He passed through New-Haven on Monday the 16th. Tuesday night, the 17th, found him in New York. It was the day of King's College Commencement, and the eve of the annual Episcopal Convention. Already the body of merchants had met at the Exchange and taken steps to organize a Committee of Fifty-one. Revere put his letters in their hands and at dawn on Wednesday, the 18th, he was enroute to Philadelphia, which he reached Thursday night, the 19th.

City Tavern Philadelphia was the scene of a meeting Friday evening, the 20th, at which a sympathetic message was prepared for Boston. On Saturday Revere was off again to the north. The following Monday, the 23rd, Revere was in New York ready again to take dispatches. The Committee there had been strengthened as dissident groups finally offered their support. They worked all day, meeting at 10 in the morning and again at 8 in the evening. That very night Revere took horse again for the ride to Boston. There the citizens had met and adjourned, setting the 31st as the day when news from the south might be expected. Paul Revere did not fail them. He reached Boston Saturday, the 28th. Right down the coast, the issue at Boston was made the concern of

all the colonies, and from New York came the advice that a general Congress be called. "The Pennsylvania Farmer" again took up his pen. On the day that Revere was getting close to Boston, the Philadelphia papers carried the first of John Dickinson's "Letters to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies in America". The urgency of the message from New England seems to have left its mark on the men who were met on religious matters, for 19 of the ministers who attended this Synod became chaplains in the war.

Another meeting of clergy took place in Philadelphia on May 25, 1774, when the infant Methodist group met for its second annual conclave in St. George's Church. The presiding officer was the Rev. Thomas Rankin (aet. 36) who had arrived from England the year before, having been appointed general superintendent of mission-work.[73] The number of Methodist

[73] On Dec. 29, 1774 Rankin wrote Lord Dartmouth a long letter from Philadelphia worth giving somewhat at length: " ... I have lately rode a considerable way, through the Provences [sic] of New Jersey, Penselvania [sic] , and Maryland. I have also from my Brethren, who labour in Virginia, and North Carolina, had accounts of the prospect of the work there. From what I have seen, and what I am truely informed of; there is great cause to adore and praise God. Some hundreds have been effectualy awakened, and brought to the knowledge of God, (in the various Provences where we preach) in a few months past. I have never seen such an outpouring of Gods Spirit since I came to America, as I beheld for the most part of the month of last November. The greatest of this work was in Maryland, and on the borders of the Provence of Virginia. In the cities and Towns the gospel does not flourish in the way and manner we could desire: It is in the country where we see in a more cheering manner, the fruit of our labours. I do not know that ever I saw two places so highly favoured with Gospel Ministers, as Philadelphia and New York are; and I never knew two Cities wherein there was so little good done, after so much faithful preaching. Except a few Hundreds it seems to me that a

[73]

(continuation of Footnote #73)

deadly slumber has got hold of the inhabitants in the above cities. I believe we have upwards of five hundred black people, (male and female) in our societies; the most of whom are happy in a Saviours love.

What effect the political contests will have upon religion in these colinies [sic], I am not able to ascertain: But if I may [ ] the stock by the sample, I fear the worst, altho I would hope the best.

I was much pleased to hear from a young clergyman, (who was lately here, and had come from England a few months ago) that he was informed while he was in London, that your Lordship had a worthy, good man in your eye, whom you thought would make an acceptable Bishop for America. Such a person would certainly facilitate the work of God, and greatly promote the interest of the church of England in these colinies: But I am ready to think, that our political troubles must first subside before your Lordship will be able to be instrumental of making such an happy era, to take place in this land.

Your Lordship is (no doubt) fully informed of all the transactions that passed here, in the present situation of affairs: But I presume you will not be offended with me, if [I] should add a few observations of what has come under my own cognizance. The attention that I have paid to any publick matters since I came into this land, has been from this motive, to turn all into prayer, and spiritual advice to those, that either in publick, or privet, I might have any intercourse with. While the Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, I had access to be here most of the time. Many of its members came to our Preaching; and I had an opportunity of converseing with various of them again. I believe many of them, has the most warm attachment to his Majesty, and the constitution; but probably others, who are of republican principles, have carried matters further than the others intended. All that they transacted I have seen, only the address to his Majesty: That as yet I have not seen made publick. The friends of the goverment [sic] at present say little; (and indeed(as the tide runs) it is dangerous so to do unless they have got grace to brave the fear of Death, or at least so much as to enable them to bear with patience, being tarred and feathered) but if things should come to extreemities [sic] (which I hope they never, never will) there are many who are now almost silent, that would stand by his Majesty, and Parliament to there [sic] last drop of blood. There is nothing to be heard in some of the Provences, but warlike preparations, of every kind. (Wm. Salt Library, Stafford, England 2/D1708/1041) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth)

adherents in Philadelphia in 1773 was reported at 100, with 1160 in the whole country. In 1774 the whole number was given as 2073. The number in Philadelphia would probably have been in much the same proportion. In 1775 a slight loss in Philadelphia was shown. John Wesley took his stand for the Crown and strongly advised his followers in the colonies to stand with him. All but a few of the leaders were British born and returned to England during hostilities. Francis Asbury remained and, with Rankin's departure in 1780 took the leadership. His being an Englishman directed much suspicion toward him and in one instance he was arrested and fined L 5. The prevailing suspicion caused him so much embarrassment that he remained in seclusion nearly a year before resuming his duties.[74]

The Baptists, too, held their annual meeting in Philadelphia October 12, 13, 14, 1774 and it too was timed to important political events for they met when the Congress was in session. The Minutes have survived. More than thirty ministers were present. Among the names, one recognizes men who were later chaplains with troops, notably John Gano and William Rogers. One prominent member of Congress from New Jersey, John DeHart, was a devout Baptist, Samuel Ward of Rhode Island another. We may feel sure that during their

[74]Goldsmith Day Carrow, The Introduction of Methodism into Pennsylvania. (Abstract of a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at a stated meeting held January 12, 1885). Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 12, pp. 203-204.

stay in Philadelphia they attended William Rogers preaching and were entertained by the members of the church. Baptists were then under considerably more persecution than some other communions. They had much to say to Massachusetts. Stiles relates one episode: President James Manning of Providence College (Brown University), Isaac Backus, and others asked for a conference with the Massachusetts delegates. Governor Ward made arrangements and a group met on an evening at Congress Hall. The delegates were somewhat astonished to find more than forty Baptists and Quakers awaiting them. It was evident some application to the Congress was contemplated. Stiles was plainly right when he sensed that the circumstances seemed opportune for both Quakers and Baptists to have some alleviation from proscriptions and taxation, to complain about which they did not have to go as far as Westminster.[75] On October 13th the Association took up the case of the brethren suffering "ecclesiastical oppressions in New-England" and recommended that the churches be urged to contribute "agreeable to the pattern of the primitive churches, who contributed to the relief of the distressed brethren in Judaea".[76] Since all were giving to the distress of Massachusetts stricken by the Port-Bill, the Baptists thought they might earmark some of the money for the distress of the Baptists afflicted by the Congregationalists. Ward, the Baptist, told all this to Stiles, the Congregationalist in his study at Newport. It seems to have made no difference in the unity of the whole.

[75] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 474.

[76] Minutes of the Baptist Association. op. cit. p. 5.

CHAPTER V

ANNUAL ELECTION AT HARTFORD

The spring-like weather of the second Thursday of May had always been one of the attractions which made the Anniversary Election of the Governor and Corporation of the Colony of Connecticut a day to bring together all the people. This day, in 1774, fell on the 12th. It was especially delightful because the previous week had been cold. It had snowed in New York on May 5th. The Election Sermon, a regular part of the celebration, was preached by the Rev. Samuel Lockwood (aet. 53) of Andover just one hundred years after James Pitch had preached the first Election Sermon in 1674. Eliphalet Dyer was one of the committee appointed by the Assembly to thank Lockwood and "desire a copy thereof that it may be printed". Four months later, on Sunday morning the 4th of September, he and Silas Deane would be tramping the streets of Philadelphia looking for a place to attend church. Lockwood was a Yale man (Class of 1745) and Stiles thought him "as great a divine at 30 as at his death. ... Ridgly and Willard contained all his knowledge this way". But Stiles goes on "he spent his labors (43 years) in a large parish of perhaps 300 families (Andover, Conn.) who are said to be as well instructed in religion as any church in Connecticut".[77] Lockwood declined the presidency of Princeton

[77] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 254

in 1758 and of Yale in 1767 and left eleven hundred dollars to Yale for their library. Thomas B. Chandler, the champion of British authority, and William Smith, Jr. 'the historian' and law partner of William Livingston, were his college classmates. If Lockwood preferred the more sequestered way of a rural life amid the same people, and found the repetition of sound words useful to children and youth constantly ripening into mature age, we are glad to find him singled out for the preacher on the momentous day in 1774 which actually marked the flight of peace for almost a decade. It was a day for sober thought and measured words.

The sermon, preached at a civil function, partook of the nature of judicial opinion. The audience was accustomed to receive the words of the preacher from the "desk" in much the same attitude which marked the delivery of a judicial decision from the "bench". The preacher took pains, before his words were sent to the public in printed form, to justify by footnotes such references as had a special bearing on the events of the day. One feature of many Election Sermons was a succession of particular applications to the various groups assembled: the governor and his councillors, the reverend clergy, and the people. To each was measured the meat of the discourse as it applied to the vocation of the special classes of auditors.

The colonial minister believed that government was good. "He is a minister of God to thee for good" (Romans 13:4) was Lockwood's text. But he believed government had to be <u>good</u>

allies of auditors.

government. "Man was formed a sociable creature, capable of the delights and advantages of social life; to be enjoyed in pursuing his own good, with that of others at the same time; ... The strength of each member united, forms the strength of the whole ... Both rulers and subjects ... serve God and their generation". The preacher's heart then warmed to a theme ever dear to the colonial Englishman of the eighteenth century. "The British legislature," he said, "consisting of three branches; to check, moderate, and temper each other; it is imagined is preferable to any other we have knowledge of. God grant, the British constitution may long continue. - the just claims of the crown and subject, be mutually acknowledged, and fully enjoyed; without which the good ends of government may not be looked for."[78] His memory may have gone back to the folio pages of "Mr. Willard", preacher of the two hundred and fifty sermons on the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. Month by month from January, 1688 to April, 1707 a congregation in the Old South Church of Boston had heard their busy pastor (who was also acting President of Harvard) deliver the "Tuesday Lecture". After his death the lectures had been printed in "the first folio volume published in New England" (1726). It was introduced to an admiring public by declaring, "we need only say, -- 'Tis Mr. Willard's, -- and

[78] Samuel Lockwood, Civil Rulers an Ordinance of God, for Good to Mankind. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut at Hartford on the day of their Anniversary Election May 12, 1774. New London, 1774. pp. 5-8.

'tis enough to recommend it"![79] Coming to the problems of civil government as led by the progress through the questions and answers of that monumental discipline, Mr. Willard had declared, "no people ought to be governed arbitrarily, or according to the wills or passions of men, which must unavoidably be tyrannical. ...There is therefore a legislative, as well as an executive power belonging to government, which is to be applied to the enacting and ratifying of such civil ordinances as are for the public benefit. And these laws are not to be made meerly (sic) for man's pleasure, but according to right reason; which is to take it's measures from the publick benefit, and the rules of righteousness, which the light of nature gives evidence to."[80] Divinity students for years had conned these lectures and one may find reflections in many a New England sermon

Mr. Lockwood was in the tried tradition as he went on, "No one can pretend that civil government, as an ordinance of God, was ever designed to advance men to seats of dignity and rule, to plume themselves with the gilded feathers of state; in order to indulge sloth - luxury- and avarice, at publick expence. Much less wantonly to exercise the power with which they are invested, in acting the tyrant. Nor yet, to improve fawning dependents and parricides (sic), to oppress

[79]Samuel Willard, A Compleat Body of Divinity, in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, etc. Boston, 1726. p. 1.

[80]Ibid. pp. 621-622.

the subjects with unconstitutional decrees, and unrighteous measures, which they will greedily execute, for a low title, and a piece of bread. ... Men in free states when elected by the suffrages of the people become civil ministers of God and so are acknowledged by the subjects. ... Civil power ... was never designed to hurt the innocent." This is the measure of honor and responsibility. Co-operation is not a one-sided obligation. It was an old concept to a well stored religious mind. Grace is the origin of goodness but goodness is the evidence of grace. While God is the Redeemer, the redeemed man must show evidence of that act of Deity. So, men must reverence regal authority, but regal authority must be reverend. "Magistrates (by the pleasure of Heaven) should protect the innocent - punish the guilty - and guard the peace of society" functions wholly defensive of personal liberty and independent activity. "No people who have tasted the sweets of liberty (and Connecticut rejoiced in the most independent of all colonial governments) and enjoyed the happiness of freedom would ever ... give up certain native rights and subject themselves to government ... except from a rational prospect of benefit to the whole, and to each individual." The magistrate being a civil minister becomes principally the counterpart of the religious minister in the field of public affairs other than religious. "Peace, safety and good order ... punish vice ... encourage sobriety, temperance, frugality and industry ... feel their relation to the subjects with a tender affection for them." Thus "the business of

government becomes comparatively easy when [magistrates] rule in the hearts of the people".[81]

Speaking directly to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants and Representatives, who all were being re-elected, Lockwood underscored the privilege of Connecticut in having "the chief seats of government filled (by the good hand of our God yet upon us) not with strangers, but with our brethren; who will naturally care for our state ... according to your political skill, you will pursue those salubrious measures; best adopted to promote the publick weal, and reach the good ends of government (security to persons and properties of the subjects) for which purpose you are now convened in your legislative character". Definite causes were mentioned: more money for Yale's building needs, control of vagrants, suggesting even deportation for the obdurant non-workers, suitable observance of the Lord's Day. Addressing all the assemblage Lockwood closed with the exhortation to "discountenance groundless surmises against the rulers of the people, which if tolerated will enervate the sinews of government and much disorder the body politick".[82]

Long after Lockwood died his people used to rate other preachers by saying "he preached <u>almost</u> as well as Mr. Lockwood".[83] Yale belatedly gave him a D.D. in 1709 which

[81] Lockwood. op. cit. pp. 9, 11, 15-16, 17-18, 24-29.

[82] Ibid. pp. 31, 34, 39.

[83] William B. Sprague, <u>Annals of the American Pulpit</u>. New York, 1857. Vol. I, p. 467.

did not particularly please him and evidently made no matter among the people who had called him "mister" for so many years.

While the good people of Connecticut were listening to these edifying words in the church at Hartford, Captain Henry Coupar was warping his ship SAMSON into her berth at Murray's Wharf, foot of Wall Street, New York. A few hours later a broadside was rushed warm and damp from the press to publish the heavy tidings that the Boston Port Bill was law and effective the coming first of June. The passage of the law had been reported to Ezra Stiles in Newport by Captain Shand on May 6th when he arrived from London.[84] The news had reached Boston on May 10th.[85] Philadelphia was to have it the 14th,[86] Williamsburg, the 19th,[87] and Charlestown, South Carolina, the 31st.[88]

[84] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 440.

[85] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 293.

[86] Pennsylvania Journal. Supplement. May 14, 1774.

[87] Virginia Gazette. No. 1180. May 19, 1774. p. 4.

[88] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 370.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 120.

[86] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 121.

[87] Pennsylvania Journal. Supplement. July 3, 1766.

[88] Virginia Gazette. Pa. 1750. May 16, 1766. 2.

CHAPTER VI

HIS EXCELLENCY HEARS A SERMON

The rising pulse of New England can be felt in the Sermon preached before His Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Governor of Massachusetts, the Council, and the House of Representatives on May 25, 1774, the anniversary of the election of His Majesty's Council, the last under royal privilege. The Massachusetts Gazette described the events the following day. At nine o'clock the officials met at the Town House, where the oaths were administered. Officials of the House were chosen, Mr. Samuel Adams, Clerk, and the Honourable Thomas Cushing, Speaker. At eleven o'clock the party moved in procession, with the Company of Cadets, from the Province House to the Council Chamber. Here His Excellency approved the elections (with exceptions). Thence the august body went to the Old Brick Meeting House where "a sermon was preached before them by the Rev. Mr. Cad Hitchcock (aet. 55) of Pembroke, from these words in Proverbs, Chap. XXIX, v. 2, 'When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn'". After the sermon the procession went to Faneuil Hall for an entertainment. At noon, land batteries fired a salute and at one the ships' guns fired from the harbor. Robert Treat Paine sat as a delegate from Taunton. He was to accompany Adams and Cushing to Philadelphia in August.[89]

[89] Massachusetts Gazette. May 26, 1774. p. 2.

General Gage had arrived in Boston Friday, May 13th to replace Thomas Hutchinson and the air was tense when Mitchcock spoke from the desk of the Church. The principles of the English Revolution of the 17th century were firmly fixed in the minds of the British Americans. Jefferson searched through Rushworth for a suitable wording for a Fast Proclamation. Washington's letters to the Congress were reminiscent of those Fairfax sent to the Parliament. Edward Hyde's (Lord Clarendon) experience was much like that of those Americans who later cried out at the Port Bill and then swung back to royalist sympathies. Lister marks the turning for Lord Clarendon at the point when Parliament enacted its own self-perpetuation, and thus, in Clarendon's view, tried to cure the wrong of being subject to the whim of the king by becoming independent of him. Either position broke the balance of powers which is the strength of the best government. Any imbalance of the thrusts of the powers operating in the machinery of government produces a progression of difficulties, friction and heat, wear and tear, and finally, catastrophe and collapse.

Mitchcock mirrors the philosophy in these words: "Civil authority is the production of combined society, - not born with, but delegated to certain individuals for the advancement of the common benefits. And as its origin is from the people, who have not only a right, but are bound in duty, for the preservation of the property and liberty of the whole society, to lodge it in such hands as they judge best

qualified to answer its intention; so when it is misapplied to other purposes, and the public, as it always will, receives damage from the abuse, they have the same original right, grounded on the same fundamental reasons, and are equally bound in duty to resume it, and transfer it to others. - These are principles which will not be denied by any good and loyal subject of his present Majesty King George, in Great Britain or America. - The royal right to the throne absolutely depends on the truth of them, - and the revolution (1688), an event seasonable and happy both to the mother country and these colonies, evidently supports them, and is supported by them."[90]

Mitchcock inherited another memory vivid in New England, especially in Massachusetts. That was the bitter struggle to save the original charters, and the failure of that effort. Joseph Dudley of Sir Edmund Andros' Council had told the people in 1686 that "they must not think the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world".[91] Seeing the shadow of Andros in Gage, the tone of the sermon sharpens: "But supposing it to be universally received, that it is the duty of the people patiently to submit, and not oppose their rulers, tho' manifestly carrying forward

[90]Cad Mitchcock. A Sermon preached before His Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Governor; the Honorable His Majesty's Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, May 25, 1774. Being the Anniversary of the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1774. pp. 21-22.

[91]Thomas Hutchinson, The History of Massachusetts. Boston, 1795. Vol. I, p. 318.

the ruin of the public, nothing can be imagined to follow, but what is of the worst consequence to human society, unless we suppose rulers as angels of God, or rather, as God himself, incapable of being mistaken themselves, or misled by others. This supposition leaves no restraint on such rulers as have designs of their own, distinct from the public good: Public misery and slavery will therefore ensue; and this is a state of things infinitely worse than that of public disturbance, supposing such sometimes to take place in consequence of resistance. The inconvenience of the latter will soon be felt and rectified by the people themselves; but the former on the principle of non-resistance, is absolutely without a remedy."

"The assertion that rulers are constituted by the people for the common happiness, is no denial of St. Paul's doctrine, who, speaking of magistracy, hath said - There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God: - any more than it is a denial of the blessing of husbandry, merchandize, and the mechanic arts, or, indeed any thing beneficial to society, being from God, to say, that men have invented them - They are all from God, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift; and much in the same sense, as it is his will that men should be employed in them for their own advantage: But men by their reason, which is also the gift of God are the immediate discoverers of their utility. ... rulers ... are the trustees of God, vested with authority by him, in the benevolent designs of his providence, to be

employed in guarding and defending the just Rights and Liberties of mankind; and as far as they can, advancing the common welfare. ... Our danger is not visionary, but real. - Our contention is not about trifles, but about liberty and property; and not ours only, but those of posterity, to the latest generations."[92]

On May 30, 1774 the Rev. Charles Chauncy (aet. 69) published in Boston a "Letter to a Friend". It reveals the acuteness of the mind of the writer in grasping the more distant consequences of the Port-Bill, for, on the title page it says: "... this edict, however unintended, is powerfully adapted to promote the interest of all the AMERICAN COLONIES, and even of BOSTON itself in the end." However, the main purpose of the letter was to describe the hardship of thousands of British subjects, which it does with vivid detail.

"Be pleased then to consider, not the well-being only, but the support of this town is almost wholly dependent upon trade, the carrying on of which makes way for imployment sic and employment procures daily bread for at least eight tenths of its inhabitants. Extensive trade, you will be sensible, if you only allow yourself to think for a while, naturally gives rise to a great variety of occupations, which occupations give a livelihood to hundreds and thousands. It must therefore amazingly spread distress in so

[92]Hitchcock. op. cit. pp. 26-30, 46-47.

large a commercial place as this metropolis of the Massachusetts-Province, to have its inhabitants in an instant, as it were, put out of all capacity of employing themselves in any of those vastly various callings on which alone, under God, they had their dependence for a supply with even the necessaries of life. Few, comparatively very few in Boston, are men of independent fortunes. The people here are almost universally laborers or artificers of this or the other denomination, who, by this act which has stopped the course of trade, are totally deprived of the only means of their subsistence. This is the case of our ship-builders, ship-joiners, mast-makers, riggers, caulkers, rope and sail-makers; whose occupations gave them and their dependents a comfortable maintenance: This is the case of our house-carpenters and masons, who have now little to do, either in the way of building or repairing houses; as timber, boards, shingles, brick and lime are not permitted to be brought into the town in any vessel whatever, from any part of the province or elsewhere: This is the case of our distillers and sugar boilers; who are at once incapacitated for carrying on that business which was their support; as neither molasses nor sugar are suffered to come into Boston harbor: This is the case with our coopers; who, if they could procure staves and hoops could make little or no use of them, as the work of trimming imported casks and making others for exportation, has, at present, an unhappy period put to it: This is the case also of our truckmen, porters,

and a numerous train of day laborers, who will now be necessitated to become idlers, and must suffer hunger, and be cloathed with rags. By this enumeration of our tribes of workmen, you will readily perceive, that vast numbers, not less, I suppose (taking in their wives, children and servants, who are dependent upon them) than fifteen thousand at the lowest computation, are reduced to a starving condition; none of which, so far as is known, had any more an hand in the destruction of the East-India company's tea, than Lord North himself. ..."[93]

[93]Charles Chauncy, A Letter to a Friend. Boston, 1774. pp. 5-6. Later, November 3, 1774, Chauncy wrote a personal letter, not published, to Josiah Quincy, Jr. in London in which he said: "The spirit in the Colonies, especially the four New-England ones, instead of being lowered since you went from us, is raised to a still greater height, insomuch that there may be danger of rashness and precipitancy in their conduct. I hope all prudent care will be taken to govern its operations by the rules of wisdom. It is the wish of every sober, understanding man amongst us, that harmony, love and peace may be restored between Great Britain and the Colonies. They dread nothing more, slavery excepted, than a bloody conflict for the security of their liberties; and yet this, so far as I am able to judge, they will readily and universally go into rather than submit to such cruelly hard and tyrannical measures as are imposed upon them."

And on November 15, 1774 Nathaniel Appleton wrote Quincy, "The spirit of the inhabitants, both in town and country, is as firm as ever; determined to defend their rights to the utmost. The Continental Congress broke up on the 26th (October) ultimo, and our Members all returned safe last Wednesday (November 9, 1774) evening. The bells rang the whole evening." (Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 958, 980)

The Rev. William Gordon (aet. 47) serving as pastor of a congregation at Jamaica Plains, in his history, marked the "forebodings" of that Election Day, the fact that Governor Gage vetoed thirteen of the duly elected counsellors, and promptly adjourned the General Court to June 7th at Salem to forestall further deliberations in that body, the temper of which he discerned. One week from the day of Hitchcock's sermon Gordon wrote: "Business was finished at the custom-house in Boston at twelve o'clock at noon, and the harbour shut up against all vessels bound thither."[94] The gauntlet was thrown down, the war had begun, a cold war, but one steadily warming up.

[94] William Gordon, The History of the Rise Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America. New York, 1801. Vol. I, p. 239.

CHAPTER VII

A FAST DAY "COOKED UP" IN VIRGINIA

When the news of the passage of the Boston Port-Bill reached Williamsburg, Virginia on the 19th of May, the House of Burgesses was in session and the populous little capital of the Old Dominion was full of activity: social, business, and political. George Washington recorded in his diary the trip he made, in company with Mrs. Washington, to be in attendance upon the sessions of the House, in which he had a seat. His letters also reveal transactions with his London agents discussing the possibilities of trade in the light of the threatening aspect of affairs. They found time, too, to attend a ball in honor of Lady Dunmore.[95] Yet so quickly did Virginia respond to the exigencies of Massachusetts that a Day of Fasting and Prayer for Virginia was voted for the 1st of June, the day when the Boston Port-Bill was to go into effect. This resolution passed the House May 24th, and led to the dissolution of that body by the Governor on the 26th.

On the 27th of May "The Association" was voted by the Burgesses, without benefit of official blessing, in the rooms of the Raleigh Tavern. By it trade with the mother country was drastically curtailed, and was, in fact, definitely to be terminated over a period of months, provided

[95] George Washington, The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799. J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed. New York & Boston, 1925. Vol. II, p. 152.

[9]

no relief was forthcoming from across the ocean. It was a momentous step. Taken by Virginia, so far away from Boston, and by Virginians, presumably not too sympathetic with the thoughts and religious views of New Englanders, it represents a major factor in the march of events which brought to birth the Declaration of Independence two years later.

The choice of a Day of Fasting and Prayer was in the New England tradition, rather than in that of Virginia. It has been said that no such day was set by public recommendation between the French War and 1774. Jefferson described the idea as one born of a sense of the seriousness of the issues before the colonies and especially the need for rousing the people to a sense of the crisis. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and three or four others studied the matter and drafted the resolution consulting, Jefferson says, a book by John Rushworth giving similar proclamations in the times of the Stuarts. To Robert Carter Nicholas was given the task of bringing the matter before the House, where it passed without dissent.[96]

[96]Thomas Jefferson, Papers of Thomas Jefferson. J. P. Boyd, ed. 32 v., Princeton, 1950. Vol. I, pp. 105-106. Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson, P. L. Ford, ed. New York, 1914. Vol. I, pp. 9-11.

John Rushworth (1612-1690) of Lincolns-Inn, England was an historian at the time of Cromwell. (See Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. W. C. Abbott, ed. Harvard, 1947. Vol. IV, p. 654, note.) In 1647 he was called to the bar and was assistant clerk to the House of Commons. He carried state papers between the parliament and Charles I

(continuation of Footnote #96)

and later became secretary to Fairfax and also Cromwell. He sat for Berwick in Cromwell's Parliament, survived the return of Charles II, and continued as agent for the town of Berwick. For a time he was the agent for Massachusetts. After 1684 he was a resident of the King's Bench Prison. All his life he took shorthand notes of transactions he witnessed and managed to transmit to posterity an amazing treasure of historical data. (Ency. Britannica, 14th ed.)

He left the world eight quarto volumes of Historical Collections. The first volume was addressed to the Lord Protector Richard (Cromwell) and was printed in London in 1682. It included "Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters of Law and Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments" between the years 1618 and 1629. Volume two bears the date 1680 and covers the period March 10, 1628/9 to April 13, 1640. Volume three is dated 1680 and covers the period March 26, 1639 to April 13, 1640 and Volume four bears the date 1692 and was "Licensed November 11, 1691". It covers the period from the meeting of Parliament November 3, 1640 to the end of the year 1644, "wherein is a particular account of the rise and progress of the civil war ... impartially related". Volume five with the same date of license and same year of publication covers the same period. Volume six came out in 1701 and continues the civil war from the beginning of 1645 to the death of King Charles in 1648. Volume seven picks up the narrative of the preceding volume on August 1, 1647 and Volume eight, dated London, 1680 contains the Trial of the Earl of Strafford, March 22, 1640 (1) until May 10, 1641.

Patrick Henry may have remembered the Fast Day sermon preached by Samuel Davies on the 5th of March, 1755. On that day Davies preached at Hanover, Virginia on the subject "God the Sovereign of all Nations". In this sermon the preacher traced the history of the liberties of England from the days of the Spanish Armada to The Forty-Five, dwelling on the Gun-powder Plot, the Glorious Revolution, the establishment of the House of Hanover and the striking reversal of fortune between Preston-Pans and Flodden.[97] Davies had won for himself a popular acclaim in Virginia and found the personal friendship of the authorities a passport to the free exercise of his ministry, although his, being Presbyterian, was not the "religion by law established". His sermons were powerful and the people were moved. The days of the French War had been times of crisis and Davies and others of the clergy had played a gallant part in speaking to the people, enlisting support in defence of the homes of the citizens after the defeat at Fort Necessity and the tragic failure of General Braddock to reach Fort Duquesne. A day of fasting and prayer in 1774 when the people could gather in their places of worship, and, like Hezekiah of old, lay this dreadful threat before the Lord, would indeed be a good custom to restore.

The proposal met with hearty acceptance, not only in

[97] Samuel Davies, God, the Sovereign of all Kingdoms. Works. Philadelphia, 1864. Vol. III, p. 329 ff.

the House of Burgesses, but up and down the countryside. One observer declared that "in all the churches of Virginia" the people observed the day.[98] George Washington wrote in his diary for June 1st "Went to church, fasted all day". The Sunday before (May 29th) Washington attended both the morning and afternoon service which, Freeman says, is the first time in his records that he tells of attending two services the same Lord's Day.[99] There was a seriousness about the grave issue which had suddenly been thrust upon the people of all the colonies and one striking mark of its impact is the way the colonists made it a matter of religious concern.

There was another influential element in the current. Between 1770 and 1775 a large number of new congregations had sprung up in the colony. Thirty-three Presbyterian, and sixty-three Baptist groups were formed.[100] Many of the

[98] John Harrower, Diary. American Historical Review, Vol. VI, October, 1900, p. 80.

[99] Douglas S. Freeman, George Washington. New York, 1951, Vol. III, p. 355.

[100] Analysis made from the publications of the Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, F. L. Weis, ed. op.cit.

(attached table goes here)

MILITIA ROLLS OF VA (Thos.Jeff.Papers,I - 579) & CHURCHES

Accomac	1208	3	P 2E
Albemarle	1270	10	2B 5P 3E
Amelia	1150	1	E
Amherst	650	2	P E
A.Augusta	2000	7	B 5P E
Bedford	1400	3	2P E
Botetourt	1600	12	3B 8P E
Brunswick	1200	3	B 2E
Buckingham	650	8	2B 2P E
Berkeley	1200	19	Mor 5GR 3B 9P E
Caroline	983	6	3B 3E
Charles City	350	1	E
Charlotte	812	5	2B P 2E
Chesterfield	960	4	2B 2E
Culpepper	1400	10	L 7B 2E
Cumberland	1000	4	3P E
Dinwiddie	700	5	3B 2E
Dunmore	500 & Mennonites	2	Men
Eliz.City	160	2	P E
Essex	450	5	3B 2E
Fairfx	1000	6	3B P 2E
Fauquier	1100	8	2GR 4B 2E
Frederic	1264	21	2L 5GR 4B 8P 2E
Fincastle	2000	13	3GR 2B 7P E
Gloster	900	3	3E
Goochland	520	6	4B 2E
[illegible]	1000	7	6B E
Hampshire	700	3	2P E
Hanover	900	4	B P 2E
Henrico	500	2	B E
James City	190	3	B 2E
Isle of Wight	725	3	2B E
K.George	450	3	3E
K & Queen	600	6	3B 2E
K.William	500	3	B 2E
Lancaster	200	2	P E
Loudoun	1600 & Quakers	8	GR 4B P 2E
Louisa	600	3	B P E
Lunenburgh	593	3	2B E
Middlesex	300	1	E
Mecklenburgh	850	4	3B E
[illegible]	800	2	2E
N.Kent	448	2	2E
Norfolk	1000	4	M 3E
Northampton		1	E
Northumberland	700	2	2E
Orange	550	5	L GR 2B E
Pittsylvania	1550	8	4B 3P E
Pr.Edward	550	9	3B 5P E
Pr.George	450	1	E
Pres.Anne	450	2	B E
Pr.William	1000	2	B E
Richmond	470	2	2E
Southampton	750	2	2E
Spotsylvania	500	6	L 3B 2E
Stafford	500	2	B E
[illegible]	350	1	E
Sussex	660	4	3B E
Warwick	100	1	E
Westmoreland	700	2	2E
York	300	3	3E

Weis' church list collated with Th. Jefferson's militia estimates (1776).
2nd col - militia
3rd col.- churches
4th col - denominational breakdown
I - Presbyterian
B - Baptist
E - Episcopal
Mor - Moravian
GR - Ger.Reformed
Men - Menonite
L - Lutheran
"Williamsburgh" not included here. Bruton Parish Church listed in York Co

Burgesses knew of these new settlers and that large numbers in the western parts of the colony were acutely conscious of a lack of representation in the House of Burgesses. Jefferson and Henry both lived close to these new people and others were equally alert to their presence and to their sentiments.

Ezra Stiles observed that Episcopalians to the south were more enthusiastic in their support of the movement for redress and later for independence than their religious brethren to the north.[101] This opinion may be supported by two bits of evidence from a survey of the clergy of Virginia. On May 27th, 89 members of the House of Burgesses signed The Association. Later other citizens added their names to this paper, among them more than a dozen clergymen. This group was influential and their action indicates a political interest which is remarkable. Some of the signers and others among the clergy were soon to become chaplains in the regiments which went forth to maintain by arms the convictions taken in the council hall. They were to "adventure their lives on the high places of the fields", animating and comforting the fathers, sons, husbands and brothers who took up arms.[102]

[101] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 490-491.

[102] Clergy who signed the Association were: William Harrison, William Hubard, Benjamin Blaxrove, William Bland, H. J. Burges, Samuel Smith McCroskey, Joseph Davenport, Thomas Price, David Griffith, William Leigh, Robert Andrews, Samuel Klug, Ichabod Camp, William Holt. (Papers of Thomas Jefferson, op. cit., p. 109)

Virginian Anglican clergy are found presiding at meetings held in June to endorse the Non-Importation Scheme and

(continuation of Footnote #102)

for electing delegates to the colonial meeting of deputies, viz., Charles L. Thurston moderated the Frederick County meeting on June 8th (Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 392); Peter C. G. Muhlenberg moderated the Woodstock meeting on June 16th. (Force, I, 417) and Thomas Smith, rector of Cople Parish moderated the Westmoreland County meeting on June 22nd. This meeting sent Richard Henry Lee to the "general meeting of deputies" which in turn sent him to Philadelphia as a delegate to the First Continental Congress. (Force, I, 437) Elsewhere we find clergymen in various official positions: The Rev. Dr. John Gordon, a Queen's College, Oxford man and rector of St. Michael's Parish (Talbot County, Maryland) was chairman of the county committee May 23, 1775, (Force, II, 682) and the Rev. John Murray, a University of Edinburgh graduate, was clerk of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Concord, April 22, 1775 when it was hastily assembled after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, and then immediately adjourned to Watertown, to meet again that same afternoon at 4 o'clock. (Journals of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Boston, 1838, p. 147)

About 300 clergymen of all the colonies can be identified as chaplains, more or less official, serving with troops for a longer or shorter time, and for some the time was very short indeed. They rushed to the colors in 1775 and 1776, but drifted away, until in 1782 there were only a dozen posted with brigades. The "call" had gone out of it when the fighting had come to a stale-mate after Yorktown. Economy also had taken its toll. Among the chaplains, most of the Episcopalians were southerners: Robert Andrews, Alexander Balmain, William Bland, John Bradfoote, John Cordell, Thomas Davis (who later conducted Washington's funeral), William Dunlap, Hezekiah Ford, Spence Grayson, David Griffith, Samuel Hart, John Hurt, Henry Purcell, Robert Smith, Alexander Stewart, Abner Waugh, - mostly Virginians, though some were from the Carolinas.[103]

Possibly without this Episcopalian response to the distress of New England the whole independence movement would have collapsed. This was probably not foreseen by men like Thomas Hutchinson. The battles of Chauncy and Chandler were still warm; of Lord Cornbury and Francis Makemie years before still remembered; of the frustrating attempts by Presbyterians in New Jersey to get a charter for a widows' fund, all seemed ill omens for anything like brotherly cooperation but the unexpected took place. Witherspoon in May 1776 remarked it

[103]"Chaplains of the American Revolution", by the Editor (in MS).

as a thing for wonder and thansgiving.[104]

Had the Church clergymen of Virginia chosen to stand aloof from the cry of Massachusetts, underscoring the antagonism which certainly marked the attitude of some to their brethren to the north, Virginia might have failed to give the helping hand, and Massachusetts might have been deserted to struggle alone against the strangulation of business and civil life, and, as many of them in New England dreaded even more, the possibility of an Anglican hierarchy among them. In Virginia, however, the question of the Episcopate was not particularly acute. Every parish had its Church. The Church was thoroughly scattered up and down the land, at least outside the very newly settled areas. The parson and his parishoners got along pretty well together. Perhaps neither laymen nor clergy missed too much the episcopal staff. The laymen in Virginia who led off for a strong stand against the Retaliatory Acts were principally Anglicans, and by and large they were pious church going men. Washington, one of the richest inhabitants of the colonies, a veteran of the French War, a burgess of the Colony, and a man ever out on horseback patroling his vast acres, chasing the fox, going to social festivities and to church, undoubtedly stood at their head. Moreover, he was a man whom the

[104] John Witherspoon, The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. Sermon at Princeton, May 17, 1776. Works. Philadelphia, 1800. Vol. II, p. 407.

Presbyterian minister, Samuel Davies, had marked years before as one who would greatly gain in stature with the passing of time. In a sermon preached before Captain Overton's company in Hanover County, August 17, 1755, Davies referred to Washington in these words: "I point out to the public that heroic youth, Col. Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."[105] This piece of hearty good will from a man who had at times suffered public handicaps because of his religious convictions, to a youthful planter, who had recently suffered a rather severe defeat, was a good sign for the days of 1774.

We point to the particular manner of Virginia's response to Boston's plight as evidence of prevailing clerical opinion and attitudes. The idea of a Fast Day was extremely felicitous.[106] The signing of The Association by a considerable group of clergy was daring. The Church of England clergyman

[105] Samuel Davies, Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of Good Soldiers. Works. Philadelphia, 1864. Vol. III, p. 94.

[106] Jedidiah Morse, Annals of the American Revolution. Hartford, 1824. p. 179.

"It ought here to be observed that this rational and pious custom of observing fasts in times of distress and impending danger, and of celebrating days of public thanksgiving, after having received special tokens of divine favour, has ever prevailed in New England since its first settlement, and in some parts of other states. These public supplications and acknowledgments to Heaven, ... were more frequent than usual and were attended with uncommon fervour and solemnity."

received his ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London, and was posted to the colonies with one hundred pounds of the King's Bounty. His ordination oath involved not only his obedience to his diocesan in matters ecclesiastical, but also obedience to his King as Head of the Church of England. We shall see later a touching instance of the distress caused by these facts in the case of Jonathan Boucher. Rushworth was a peculiar authority for churchmen to consult in drawing up the Fast Day Resolution. The Fast Day was not particularly a Virginian custom. Washington did not ordinarily go to church twice of Sabbath, yet Jefferson and others "returned home and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June".[107]

There was a strong piety in the Old Dominion, perhaps not such as was accustomed to the New England habit, but which was, nevertheless, quite vital and effective. Granted, it was those who felt "we must boldly take an unequivocal stand in the line with Massachusetts" who hit upon the Fast Day idea and "cooked up" the resolution; this by no means discounts their sincerity, and does witness to the knowledge that men must be touched in their hearts.[108] In the best sense it was a recognition of the need for spiritual power and went by the shortest road to reach it.

[107] Jefferson, Autobiography. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

[108] Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

When the people assembled in Bruton Church, according to the call of the Virginia Legislature on June 1, 1774, the Rev. Thomas Price preached the sermon. Price received his ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London, December 23, 1759, and was serving the Parish of Abingdon in 1774. Washington heard him in company with other members of the House as set forth in the resolution. Price's sermon, though marked for publication, seems never to have been set in type. At least no copy is known to exist.

CHAPTER VIII

MUFFLED BELLS AND MUFFLED PROTESTS IN PHILADELPHIA

The observance of Wednesday the first of June, 1774 in Philadelphia was on this wise. On Sunday, May 29th an emergency meeting of members of the various religious societies (i.e. churches) of the city was held, at which there was perfected a plan to make the following Wednesday, June 1st, a day of special solemnity. Charles Thomson, whom John Adams called "The Sam Adams of Philadelphia, the life of the cause of liberty",[109] the secretary of the local committee of correspondence put the plan on paper and sent it post-haste to New York. Unfortunately no copy of Thomson's letter to New York survives so far as is presently known. However, its contents may be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy and furnish a very illuminating commentary on the feelings among Philadelphia church people of different denominations.

[109] John Adams, Works of John Adams, Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, 1853-56. Vol. II, p. 350.

Charles Thomson's part in the events of May, 1774 in Philadelphia is revealed in his own words addressed in a letter to William Henry Drayton in comment upon the manuscript of a history of the Revolution being written by Drayton: "But in the spring of 1774, as soon as the news of the Boston port bill, &c. arrived, his friend (Thomson), who had taken an active part in the measures for sending back the tea, immediately communicated to him (John Dickinson) the intelligence, and gave him his opinion that now was the time to step forward. The measures proper to be pursued on this occasion were secretly concerted between them.

And to prepare the minds of the people, D. undertook to address the public in a series of letters. The next day the letters arrived from Boston, and it was judged proper to

(continuation of Footnote #109)

call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, to communicate to them the contents of the letter, and gain their concurrence in the measures that were necessary to be taken. As the Quakers, who are principled against war, saw the storm gathering, and, therefore, wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anythings being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and thus if possible bring Pennsylvania with its whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct Mr. D. had lately pursued opened a prospect to this. His sentiments were not generally known; the quakers courted, and seemed to depend upon him. The other party, from his past conduct, hoped for his assistance, but were not sure how far he would go if matters came to extremity, his sentiments on the present controversy not being generally known. It was, therefore, agreed that he should attend the meeting. And as it would be in vain for Philadelphia, or even Pennsylvania, to enter into the dispute unless seconded and supported by the other colonies, the only point to be carried at (the) ensuing meeting was to return a friendly and affectionate answer to the people of Boston, to forward the news of their distress to the Southern colonies, and to consult them and the Eastern colonies on the propriety of calling a Congress to consult on the measures necessary to be taken." (Early Days of the Revolution in Philadelphia. From the Sparks Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard College. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 2, pp. 411-423. Complete letter. Above quotation found on pp. 412-413)

A description of a similar conference is given in a MS letter from Joseph Reed in Philadelphia to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated June 10, 1774. " ... There was a Meeting last Night of the most Considerable Gentlemen of this City both in Fortune & Abilities as well in Office as out to prepare this Business for the ensuing Wednesday. This Meeting consisted of the principal Persons of all Denominations when the Proposal of Opposition to the present Claims of Parliament was unanimously agreed to, & tho the Resolves may not be couched in such warm Terms as many others yet they are formed on the same Principles & your Lordship I think may consider it as a fixed Truth that all the dreadful Consequences of Civil War will ensue before the Americans will submit to the Claim of Taxation by Parliament. I mention this that your Lordship may not be deluded by the suggestions of designing interested People, to wait for this Event. As nothing but Force will ever bring it about. I am with great Truth & the most profound Respect

Your Lordships most devoted
& very Obed. & Hmble Serv.
Jos. Reed"

(Wm. Salt Library 1778. Vol. 7(ii) No. 9834) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth.

(continuation of Journals, Aug)

Monday, May 30th brought this newspaper story to the attention of the citizens of Philadelphia. "It having been suggested that the first day of June, which will be so distinguished an aera in the American history, when the Boston Port Bill is to take effect, should have some particular notice taken of it: A number of persons composed of the members of all societies in this city, met, and unanimously agreed that it would be proper to express their sympathy for their brethren at Boston, by suspending all business on that day -- Such a pause is intended not only to shew the real concern we feel for the distresses of our brethren and fellow subjects, but to give an opportunity of seriously reflecting on our own dangers, and the precarious tenure of our most valuable rights."[110]

Tuesday, May 31st in New York, the Committee of Correspondence recorded in its minutes "A letter from Mr. Charles Thomson of Philadelphia signed by order of, and in behalf of the Deputies convened from the different congregations of Philadelphia, dated May 29, 1774. The Committee conceiving that the subject of this letter not being in their province ordered: That copies thereof be made out well and sent to the clergy of the different denominations in this city, and that a letter be written by the Chairman, informing Mr. Thomson thereof. It was accordingly done".[111]

[110]Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 136. May 30, 1774 (p. 3)

[111]Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 300.

Wednesday, June 1st, the day the Boston Port-Bill went into effect, we find the following in The Pennsylvania Journal: "TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA. This day being the first of June, when the inhabitants of the town of Boston, our brethren and fellow subjects, suffering in the common cause of liberty, are to have their port and harbour shut up -- and to be excluded from all commercial intercourse, except an allowance of wood and provisions just necessary to keep them from perishing with want and cold, in consequence of an act of Parliament lately passed for that purpose. Many of the inhabitants of this city, of most denominations, propose to express their sympathy and concern for their distressed brethren, by suspending business in this day: And will be glad of the concurrence of such of their fellow citizens, as approve of the measure."[112]

A private correspondent writing from Philadelphia June 2nd and quoted in The Newport Mercury of June 13th summed up the affair by saying: "Yesterday we had a pause in the business of this city, and a solemn pause indeed it was; if we except the Friends, I believe nine-tenths of the citizens shut up their houses. The bells were rung muffled all the day, and the ships in the port had their colours half hoisted."[113]

[112] The Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1643. June 1, 1774 (p. 3); Newport Mercury. No. 823. June 13, 1774 (p. 3); Virginia Gazette (Rind) No. 422. June 9, 1774. Supplement (p. 2.); Pennsylvania Gazette. No. 2371. June 1, 1774 (p.3)

[113] Newport Mercury. No. 823. June 13, 1774 (p. 3.)

In New York, on the other hand, Rivington's Gazetteer of June 2nd played it down with this comment: "By letters received from Philadelphia yesterday, it appears, and we are authorized to say, that there was by no means a general meeting of all denominations of Christians on the above occasion: that of the Friends, two only attended, one of whom gave a silent assent, the other objected to the measure: and that it was disclaimed by Christians of every denomination, those of the Presbyterian communion and a few of the others only excepted."[114]

Incidentally, it is difficult to imagine how the Gazetteer got its "stop-press" news story. The event took place in Philadelphia on Wednesday and the story was printed in New York on Thursday. Yet the fact is stated quite explicitly: "by letters received from Philadelphia yesterday". "The Flying Machine" was being advertised (see New-York Gazette for May 2, 1774) but it was a horse-drawn invention resembling a modern van. One started from Powles' Hook (Jersey City), and one from the Indian Queen Tavern in Philadelphia. These met the same evening at Princeton, where the passengers slept the night and exchanged vehicles. The next day they completed their journeys as the conveyances returned to their starting points. The cost was 21 shillings, and the baggage allowance 14 pounds.[115] Also, Paul Revere,

[114] Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 59. June 2, 1774 (p. 3).

[115] New-York Gazette. No. 1175. May 2, 1774. Supplement (p. 2).

it is recorded, left New York "about noon" on Wednesday the 18th of May and reached Philadelphia Thursday, the 19th at night, involving thirty hours on the road.[116]

On the other hand, in Philadelphia the occasion was described as a great success. Dunlap's Packet described the day thus: "Wednesday last being the first day of June, when the cruel act for blocking up the harbour of Boston took effect, many of the inhabitants of this city, to express their sympathy for their brethren suffering in the common cause, shut up their houses and shops; the bells of Christ Church were muffled, and rung a solemn peal; the colours of the vessels in the harbour were hoisted half mast high; the houses of worship were crouded where divine service was performed; sorrow, mixed with indignation, seemed pictured in the countenances of the inhabitants, and the city wore the aspect of deep distress."[117] The Journal added an interesting fact: "An excellent sermon suited to the solemnity of Wednesday last, was preached in Arch-street Church (the Rev. James Sproat, pastor) to an assembly crouded with people of ALL denominations, from the following words: 'And in every province whithersoever the King's commandment, and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, and fasting, and weeping, and wailing; and many lay in sackcloth and

[116] New-York Journal. No. 1637. May 19, 1774. p. 3, col. 4; Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1641. May 20, 1774. Postscript.

[117] Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 137. June 6, 1774 (p. 3).

ashes' (Esther iv. 3)".[118]

Perhaps the source of the New York story may be connected with two strongly worded protests which appeared in the Philadelphia papers the following week. One from the Quakers ran as follows: "To the Printer of the Pennsylvania Packet: Observing in the Pennsylvania Packet of this day, a notification 'that a number of persons composed of the members of all societies in this city met, and unanimously agreed, that it would be proper to express their sympathy for their brethren at Boston by suspending all business on the first day of the next month'. -- The people called Quakers, tho' tenderly sympathising with the distressed, and justly sensible of the value of our religious and civil rights and that it is our duty to assert them in a christian spirit; yet, in order to obviate any misapprehensions, which may arise concerning us, think it necessary to declare, that no person or persons were authorised to represent us on this occasion, and if any of our community have countenanced or encouraged this proposal, they have manifested great inattention to our religious principles and profession, and acted contrary to the rules of christian discipline established for the preservation of order and good government among us. Signed on behalf, and at the desire of the Elders and Overseers of the several meetings of our religious society in Philadelphia, and other Friends met on the occasion, the

[118] Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1644. June 8, 1774. p. 3.

30th of the 5th month, 1774. John Reynell, James Pemberton, Samuel Noble".[119]

The other, from the rector of Christ Church, put before the public this information: "Whereas in the Pennsylvania Packet of this day, (June 6, 1774) it is mentioned that 'on Wednesday last being the day when the act for shutting up the port of Boston took effect, the bells of Christ Church were muffled and rung a solemn peel, and that the houses of worship were crowded, &c.' we are desired, by the Rector of that Church, to acquaint the Public that the bells were not rung with his knowledge or approbation, and that by his express direction, there was no particular observance of that day in either of the Churches under his care. It is well known, that the established Church is restrained from any religious observance of days, except those appointed by the church or the public authority of government."[120]

There were no vestry meetings at Christ Church between April 18th and July 12th. On the latter day the King's Birthday was included in the arrangements with the bell ringers, but the day of King Charles II's Restoration was not included. On the 10th of September another vestry meeting found that "for want of some Regulations with respect to ringing of Christ Church Bells they had been put under

[119] Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 137. June 6, 1774, p. 3; Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1643. June 1, 1774, p. 3; New-York Gazette, No. 1180. June 6, 1774, p. 3; Massachusetts Gazette: and Boston Post Boy, No. 877. June 13, 1774, p. 2.

[120] Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1644. June 8, 1774, p. 3.

difficulties as there had been of late some applications made to have them rung on publick occasions by persons who were not as well as by persons who were members of the churches. (St. Peter's was included with Christ Church in a collegiate relationship.) Resolved unanimously that the bells shall not be rung on any occasion out of the common course of burials, &c. and the days appointed for festivals in the Common Prayer Book without an express order to the Sexton signed by the Rector and church wardens."[121]

The Pennsylvania Journal of May 25th carried the first of a series of "Letters to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies of North America". They were signed "P.F." but it was John Dickinson, "The Farmer", the veteran pamphleteer and authoritative voice from Pennsylvania, who wrote them. The letter began "Dear Brethren: Divine Providence has been pleased to place us in this age and country under such circumstances, as to be reduced to the necessity of chusing one of these conditions - either to submit to the dominion of others, holding our lives, liberties, and properties, by the precarious tenure of their will - or, to exact that understanding, resolution and power, with which Heaven has favoured us, in striving to maintain our rank in the circle of Freemen". It ended with a Bible quotation, "They lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh silver in the balance - they

[121] MS Minutes, Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1774. Vol. II, pp. 298-99.

fall down, yea, they worship - remember this, and shew yourselves men. Isaiah, ch. 46".[122] Isaiah, chapter 46 has only 13 verses. Dickinson quoted verse 6 and verse 8. It was a prophetic challenge to the ungodly and a reminder to believers. Verse 9 reads: "Remember the former things of old: for I am God, and there is none else; I am God and there is none like me." Verse 10 goes on: "Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure". Verse 11 says: "Calling a ravenous bird from the east, the man that executeth my counsel from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it." Dickinson read the chapter before he chose the portion to be quoted. The chapter said more than the portion said, but he knew that the average household in the colonies had a Bible and that Bible reading people would turn up that passage before they finished reading the remainder of their weekly paper. Other colonial weeklies soon picked up the letter, and the other letters that followed on June 1, June 8, and June 15.

[122]Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1642. May 25, 1774, p. 1.

CHAPTER IX

PHILADELPHIA CHOSEN

A group of "principal gentlemen" of Philadelphia "by a voluntary subscription ... erected at great expense" the City Tavern (Second Street above Walnut) "by much the largest and most elegant house occupied in that way in America", and on May 5, 1774 advertised its splendor in The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly-Letter. Daniel Smith was the tavern keeper selected by the "Gentlemen Proprietors". The building was completely furnished "at a very great expense, ... perfectly in the style of a London tavern". It had some "elegant bed-rooms, detached from noise, and as private as in a lodging house", with "the best livery stables .. quite convenient". In the coffee room English and American papers and magazines could be found. Smith hoped "his attention and willingness to oblige, together with the goodness of his wines and larder will give the publick entire satisfaction and prove him not unworthy of the encouragement he has already experienced".[123] It was a profitable piece of advertising as events proved. On Friday, September 16, 1774, City Tavern was the starting point of a great ceremonial procession of the delegates at The Congress to the State House, where a gala reception tendered by the citizens was held amid a profusion of food, drink, and talk.

[123]Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter, May 5, 1774. Supplement, p. 2.

The earliest specific suggestion for a meeting of Representatives in Philadelphia is found in the declaration which the Massachusetts House of Representatives issued on June 7th, the day when Gage attempted to dissolve the meeting while the doors were kept locked, the messonger having to read his proclamation outside. On June 17th the invitation was issued to the other colonies to meet in Philadelphia "or any other place" on the first day of the next September.[124] "United we stand, divided we fall" appeared in a Boston paper on May 2nd. "Join or Die" had appeared in The Newport Mercury on May 16th. It was later to appear on the mast-head of the newsprints in both Philadelphia and New York.

Philadelphia was a logical place for the meeting of representatives of the different colonies, but it was for other reasons an unlikely place. It was unlikely because it was the center of keen political strife between adverse sections of its own population. It was the chief center of Quakerism which was pacifist and sentimentally distasteful to the independents of New England and churchmen elsewhere. Moreover Pennsylvania was at outs with Connecticut over the Susquehanna Scheme, and with Virginia over the turmoil in the Pittsburgh area. The earlier months of 1774 had been full of controversy. While Philadelphia had a wide variety of religious groups living together at peace among themselves, there was not a single Congregational church in the city. It

[124] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 421.

is greatly to the credit of the New Englanders that their thoughts turned to Penn's city on the Delaware as a meeting place for the assembly which they felt to be of the first importance. To be sure Boston could hardly be thought of because Gage and his red-coats were occupying the town which was increasingly in a state of siege.

Sentiment for united action, indeed, for action of any sort was slow to win some circles. Gouverneur Morris wrote John Penn (May 20th) "freedom and religion are only watch-words"[125] and Daniel Dulaney remarked, in a letter to Arthur Lee in London, "The Philadelphians were very cool, indeed upon the application. There is a stroke of insulting pity in their answer which I am sure will raise your indignation to the highest pitch."[126] This was a reference to a letter sent by the meeting in Philadelphia on May 21st, engineered by Charles Thomson with Mifflin, Read, and Dickinson as fellow actors.

But the tide began to rise as the Port-Bill went into effect, and further restrictive legislation came out from the Parliament at home. The Newport Mercury said on May 16th "The generals of despotism are now drawing the line of circumvallation around our bulwarks of liberty and nothing but unity, resolution and perseverance can save ourselves and

[125] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 342.

[126] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 354.

posterity from what is worse than death -- slavery."[127] The need for a meeting of minds on the crisis was urged in England. A Londoner's letter on April 5, 1774 urged the colonies to take united action above all. "If the other Provinces do not warmly ... support ... Boston you must fall."[128] And on April 2, 1774 Arthur Lee in London wrote his brother, Francis Lightfoot Lee in Virginia, "In my opinion there ought to be a general congress of the Colonies."[129] The Virginia Gazette (Rind) reported in its New York letter the action there on May 23rd which gave Paul Revere a return message for the people in Boston urging that a "congress of the colonies should be convoked without delay".[130] Before leaving home at Chantilly for the meeting of the Virginia Assembly (May 5th) Richard Henry Lee wrote Samuel Adams. Again, after the abrupt dissolution of the Assembly on May 26th because of the resolution calling for a Fast Day on June 1st, another letter went from Lee in Williamsburg to Adams in Boston. Writing still later, on June 23rd, Lee gave Adams the texts of two resolutions prepared but not submitted. "I was prevented from offering them", Lee wrote, "by many worthy members who wished to have the public business first finished, and who were induced to believe, from many conversations they had heard, that there was no danger of a dissolution before it had

[127] Newport Mercury, No. 819. May 16, 1774. p. 3.

[128] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 241.

[129] Ibid. p. 237.

[130] Virginia Gazette (Rind), No. 422. June 9, 1774. Supplement. p. 2.

happened." The second resolution Lee quoted to Adams stated, "Resolved, That ____ be appointed Deputies from this House, to meet at ____ such Deputies from the other Colonies as they shall appoint, there to consider and determine on ways the most effective to stop the exports from North America, and for the adoption of such other measures as may be most decisive for securing the rights of America against the systematic plan formed for their destruction."[131] On the day after Massachusetts asked for a conference of all the interested Colonies, Governor William Franklin of New Jersey wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the agitators' "principal aim seems to be to bring about a Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies as proposed by Virginia".[132]

On May 31st news of the Port-Bill reached Charlestown, S. C. brought in the Sea-Nymph and from then the chorus of colonies became full voiced. The Sea-Nymph, before the autumn equinox, was to carry Carolinian gentlemen as delegates to Philadelphia. Counties, towns, and later colonies began to indite resolutions, all of a very similar tenor, in which phrases like "effectual association", "general meeting", and the word "America" are often found. The Borough of Norfolk and Town of Portsmouth (Va.) addressed Charlestown, "We highly approve of the expediency of a Congress, as proposed by several of the colonies". William Franklin, writing

[131] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 445-46.

[132] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 429.

the Earl of Dartmouth, May 31st, could doubt the ultimate issue, as he wrote "A Congress of members of the several Houses of Assembly has been proposed in order to agree upon some measures on the present occasion; but whether this expedient will take place it is as yet uncertain". John Scollay from Boston assured Arthur Lee "We have all from the cobbler up to the senator become politicians". Baltimore was prepared to join in a "general Congress". Cadwalader Colden wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the people of New York colony had proposed "that the Colonies be invited to send Deputies to meet together. Hartford called for a general meeting.[133] At Norwich, Connecticut the meeting of the citizens overflowed the Town House and had to move into the church.

On the same 8th of June, Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire informed the Earl of Dartmouth he found letters in the town to the speaker of the House to "appoint a Congress of the Colonies" and at Winchester, Virginia the Rev. Charles A. Thurston, the local Anglican rector presided at a meeting of freeholders which sough the "general sense of the Continent".[134] The meeting at Newark of Jerseymen from the County of Essex, on June 11th, enacted a series of resolutions which are a good example of the general pattern. First, the people declared their loyalty to the King; second, they demanded repeal of the Port-Bill; third, they urged joint action on

[133] Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 305, 366-372.

[134] Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 390-93.

non-importation-exportation; fourth, they asked for a Congress; fifth, they sent deputies to a provincial convention; and sixth, they named nine citizens to be their delegates at this convention.[135] Of those nine the provincial convention in turn sent three to Philadelphia, viz., John DeHart, Stephen Crane, and William Livingston.

The wisdom of the Rev. George Whitefield (died Sept. 30, 1770) might well have been remembered at this juncture. Whitefield said: "I can't in conscience leave the town (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 2, 1764) without acquainting you with a secret. My heart bleeds for America. O poor New England! There is a deep laid plot against both your civil and religious liberties, and they will be lost. Your golden days are at an end. You have nothing but trouble before you. My information comes from the best authority in Great Britain. I was allowed to speak of the affair in general, but enjoined not to mention particulars. Your liberties will be lost."[136] The decade succeeding this utterance had seen the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act, the tea-ships, the Boston Massacre, and now the retaliatory acts of 1774. England herself was as restive as the Colonies. From Norwich, England, a letter came to New York dated June 13, 1774 which said: "Whatever

[135] Archives of the State of New Jersey. Newark, 1886. 1st. Ser. Vol. 10, p. 465 ff.

[136] Gordon. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 102.
cf. Sibley's Harvard Graduates. Clifford K. Shipton, ed. Harvard, 1958. Vol. 10, p. 514.

gratification such measures may afford to the wrong-headed, deluded ministers, they are highly offensive to unemployed and impoverished manufacturers ... pensioners may flatter and levees may applaud, but it is too clear, that unless he conciliate the esteem of the Colonies by a repeal ... he (Lord North) will kindle a flame he will find himself unable to quench". The same day twelve hundred mechanics met at the State House in Philadelphia to hear a letter from the mechanics of New York. And a letter from Charlestown, S. C. assured Philadelphians "we place so much confidence in your moderation and firmness". On the day the Massachusetts House of Representatives invited the Colonies to meet in Philadelphia, a freeholders' meeting in Faneuil Hall with John Adams in the chair, voted: "we are waiting with anxious expectation for the result of a Continental Congress whose meeting we impatiently desire in whose wisdom and firmness we can confide and in whose determination we shall cheerfully acquiesce."[137]

The annual Artillery Sermon in Boston in 1774 fell to the lot of the Rev. John Hunt (aet. 40), settled in the Old South Church in Boston in 1771.[138] Hunt declined the honor, and the Rev. John Lathrop (aet. 35), Pastor of the Second Church delivered the discourse. It was printed in The Pennsylvania Packet the following August 15, and published in Boston by Kneeland and Davis. The preacher of the famous

[137] Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 405, 408, 423.

[138] Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter. No. 3684. May 12, 1774. p. 1.

sermon "Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston", preached the Lord's Day following the death of Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks, with Patrick Carr since dead and Christoper Ward judged irrecoverable on March 5, 1770 (printed in London and Boston), once again delivered a sermon calculated to stir the minds of his hearers. It had a similar effect in Philadelphia as John Dunlap, editor of the Packet, obviously intended.

In the closing passages Lathrop has this to say: "We know that our fathers suffered in the land of their nativity; we know how our fellow subjects in England, in Scotland, and Ireland are at this day bowing down under an insupportable burden of taxes: We have not the most distant expectation of being treated with more tenderness than our fellow subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. ... In process of time, if we are quiet and easy, we may possibly have taxes and duties on our lands, polles, fires, lights; and on every article of trade and merchandize. ... We shall have but two sorts of people, the rich and the poor: Our husbandmen and mechanicks, who now rejoice in the midst of plenty, will then, we may suppose, be as unable to furnish themselves with the comforts of life, as multitudes are in Great Britain and Ireland, who, however industrious, are seldom able to taste a bit of meat."[139]

[139]John Lathrop; A sermon preached to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, New-England June 6, 1774. Boston, 1774. Note, pp. 34-35.

Lathrop's text from Romans (12:18) runs: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men". The second point in the sermon displays some instances, "in which it is impossible, even for the professors of christianity to live peaceably with all men". This is because the Kingdom of Christ is a righteous kingdom, and righteousness is opposed to iniquity. "So far from its being duty to live peaceably with our fellow men, we ought to enter into war with them", if "a peace on unrighteous terms is the alternative". "When a community ... is attached by other powers, or any individuals of their body are injured in their persons or properties, the laws of society require them to exert the powers they have for the common safety ... Absolute dominion ... should not be given to any descendant of Adam. ... Whoever makes an alteration in the established constitution whether he be a subject or a ruler, is guilty of treason. ... Laws are above kings."

"The clergy in any country may be supposed to have considerable weight: And in days of political controversy, all sides no doubt would be willing to have their influence. But if their influence cannot be obtained, the contending parties, at least, will desire their silence. Hence, when any of the clergy venture to mention the duties which rulers owe the people, and give some broad hints that there is a design to deprive them of their just rights and liberties, the friends and abettors of tyranny, have been sometimes heard to lament with much affected seriousness, that the ministers of religion

become preachers of politics instead of the gospel. But it must be owned, some ministers, in former days, who were distinguished for their piety, and zeal for religion, thought it their duty to acquaint themselves, and invite their hearers to look into the nature and design of civil government. Nor do I see, I must confess, how a minister can do his duty in many cases, if he is ignorant or silent as to these matters."[140]

[140]Ibid., pp. 10-22.

CHAPTER X

SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF PHILADELPHIA

Something of a holiday spirit pervaded the growing city of Philadelphia in September, 1774. A collection of gentlemen, the like of which had never before been assembled in the Colonies was filling the public hostleries and private boarding houses. Arriving by stage, by ship, and on horseback, an elect company of distinguished leaders was making new friends and reviving old acquaintances. Men were seeing for the first time those whose names had already become familiar in the pages of the weekly newspapers or through private correspondence. Some delegates brought their families, for Philadelphia had everything to charm the visitor. Wide streets and noble buildings attracted the steps of the sight-seer. Graceful parks invited conversation and strolling. Noble country seats bore witness to the wealth of some of the citizens. To them guests were driven behind spanking teams or four-in-hands of thoroughbreds.

By the evening of Thursday, September 1st, 1774 twenty-seven delegates were in town awaiting the opening session of Congress. Some of them may have attended the wedding of Charles Thomson and Hannah Harrison on that day. Silas Deane, delegate from Connecticut, and his Yankee companions had arrived Wednesday evening, August 31st and were lodged with Mrs. House at Fifth and Market. Mrs. House also had Mr. Gadsden ("one of the most regularly religious men I

ever met with" Deane called him),[141] and son, of Charleston. Some of the Virginia delegates came in on Saturday the 3rd. Washington arrived on Sunday and stayed with Dr. Shippen after dining at the New Tavern. He later went to stay with Edward Fitz Randolph. Thomas McKean from Delaware stopped off to marry Sarah Armitage at Newcastle on the 3rd.

On Sunday morning, September 4, 1774, after a ride into the country, Deane and his fellow delegate, Colonel Dyer, returned in time for church. Deane's letter to his wife relates details which we must summarize. The two struck out by mistake away from Mr. Sproat's church whither they intended to go, and also missed St. Peter's where the brilliant young Jacob Duché was preaching. These sanctuaries were attracting the most attention from the delegates as Deane comments. Dyer, "one of the worst of men at recollecting streets, distances and stages", proved a bad guide and the upshot of the jaunt which "vexed" and "fretted" Dyer, landed them before a place of worship deemed "High Dutch" (i.e. German Reformed) where they found sanctuary and heard a sermon of fifty minutes delivered without notes by a "warm son of Liberty". "I do not expect to hear a better sermon soon" and "I design to hear him again before I leave the City".[142] The reader of

[141] Edmund C. Burnett, Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Washington, 1921. Vol. I, p. 10.

[142] Silas Deane. Letter postmarked Philadelphia, Sept. 8, 1774. Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford, 1870. Vol. II, pp. 170-72.

Deane's notes is somewhat confused, as was Dyer, as to the location of the church and the identity of its pastor. It could have been George Duffield at the Third Presbyterian, who had entered upon his pastorate under a good many distractions, and Deane alluded to something like that in his praise of the man who preached without notes. It probably, however, was the Rev. Casper D. Weyberg (aet. 40), a German Reformed minister whose church edifice was newly finished (dedicated May 1, 1774) as Deane indicates. Jacob Hiltzheimer records in his Diary: "Sep 1 (4?) 1774 - This morning went to church to hear Rev. Mr. Weinberg (Weyberg ?) preach a sermon suitable to the meeting of the great Congress on next Monday. His text was Proverbs xvi. 9". "A man's heart deviseth his way: but the Lord directeth his steps."[143] The afternoon service found Deane and Colonel Dyer at Mr. Sproat's meeting house (Second Presbyterian) and seemingly somewhat to Deane's dislike, they "heard old (he was 52) President Witherspoon". The evening was pleasantly spent at the home of Thomas Wharton who was "extremely civil and complacent, and insisted on our using his horses and carriage while in town, or rather his Convenience, which is the name of a Friend's or Quaker's Coach".[144]

Casper Diedrich Weyberg was born in the Ruhr and educated at Duisberg. He reached Pennsylvania in 1762 and

[143] Jacob Hiltzheimer. Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768-1798. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 16, p. 97.

[144] Deane. op. cit. p. 172.

began his ministry at Easton, but ere a year was out he was in Philadelphia at the Race Street Reformed Church beginning a long period of spiritual prosperity for that congregation which gradually consisted of some 200 families. The dedication of the new church, 90 feet by 65, attracted the Governor of the Colony, John Penn, and English and Lutheran ministers. In 1776 Weyberg was associated with H. M. Muhlenberg, Provost William Smith, Dr. Francis Alison, Jacob Duche and Andrew Corenson in proposing to the constitutional convention of Pennsylvania a paragraph on religion, the outgrowth of their concern for the dangers of unprotected ramparts in the new edifice of government in matters of religion. During the Revolution he was imprisoned for his devotion to the American cause.[145] A Tory paper of February 18, 1778 declared that, "if in a country bankrupt merchants (Robert Morris) became state counselors and a dismissed postmaster (Benjamin Franklin) an ambassador to a royal court, the outlook was indeed dangerous. But, if the ministers of the gospel (Muhlenberg and Weyburg [sic]) became political marketeriers and prescribed remedies for the State, these evils united and increased."[146] Weyberg died in Philadelphia September 26, 1790.

The Rev. James Sproat (aet. 42) at the Second Presbyterian Church where Deane attended afternoon service was a Yale man

[145] Joseph Henry Dubbs, The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania. Address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania April 17, 1893. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 17, p. 261 and note.

[146] John Joseph Stoudt, The German Press in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 59, p. 77.

of 1741. That made him a classmate of William Livingston who was in Philadelphia for the Congress and was father-in-law of John Jay, also attending. Sproat succeeded Gilbert Tennent in Philadelphia and continued his ministry there until 1793. In that dreadful year yellow fever wiped out the family: himself, his wife, his son, his son's wife and his youngest daughter. He had spent fifty years in the ministry. His ministerial colleague, Ashbel Green, biographer of Witherspoon and president of Princeton, preached at his funeral. In 1774 Sproat had been at the height of his powers. The Synod that year met at Sproat's church and as moderator of the previous Synod he preached the opening sermon. He served as hospital chaplain in the Middle Department, 1778-1781. On December 3, 1781 Congress ordered his account settled and due payment made.[147]

Washington attended worship on four of the six Sundays he was in town, and on two Sundays attended two services. September 25th he went to the Friends Meeting and to St. Peter's, October 2nd to Christ Church, October 9th to a Presbyterian Church in the morning. Dr. Freeman's guess is the Second, Mr. Sproat's, though no reason is given. Washington went to St. Mary's Catholic Church that same afternoon, and on October 16th he again attended at Christ Church.[148]

[147] Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Vol. III, p. 1149.

[148] Washington. op. cit. Vol. II, dates mentioned.

There were a score of men ministering to Philadelphians in 1774, some better known than others. The Rev. George Duffield (aet. 42) in the Third or Pine Street Presbyterian Church was an ardent patriot, later a chaplain to the troops and also one of the chaplains to Congress. In a letter to the Rev. David McClure at Portsmouth, dated February 9, 1774, he expressed a personal philosophy in these words: "...mankind have their orbits and periods as well as the heavenly Bodies -- we are now in the political Sign -- no wonder we hear almost nothing but Customs Houses and officers, Kings, Ministers, parliaments and Colonies, Tar, Tea and feathers and the atmosphere in this part of the Zodiac is full of them; but as we proceed in our great annual Course we shall leave this Sign after a while, and presently roll round to Religion -- this is a Compound of my system of philosophy but I am not yet able to ascertain the Times and spaces so easily as to venture an almanack of the various parts and Degrees of the whole Revolution...".[149]

The Rev. William Marshall (aet. 34), pastor of the Associate Presbyterian congregation in the city at £ 80 a year, represented one of the wholly Scottish transportations. The church was on Spruce above Third and his group, which extended somewhat into Pennsylvania and elsewhere, was small, determined, and not readily amalgamated. But they were wholly

[149]George Duffield, Letter to Rev. David McClure at Portsmouth, Feb. 9, 1774. MS in The Pennsylvania Historical Society Gratz Collection, Case 9, Box 6.

[illegible] Dunfield, Lecturer to Jer, Devil, Calvary a
[illegible], Feb. 9, 1778. MS in The Evangelical Historical
Society Manta Collection, Case 9, Box 6.

patriotic in sentiments and passed strong resolutions for liberty. The Marshalls who were compelled to keep boarders, had members of Congress living with them. John Adams records attending his church service. In 1796 the Count de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette, and the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Louis Philippe, refugees from the French Revolution, found sanctuary in Philadelphia. A young Scot, who had occasion to call at Marshall's home, wrote back to Scotland of his wonder at beholding the minister seated at his own table with Philip Egalite, Duke of Orleans and the Count de Noailles, once among the wealthiest and most powerful men of Europe. The Scotch laddie thought it a wonderful testimony of heaven to the instability of human fortunes.[150]

The Rev. Dr. Francis Alison (aet. 69) was senior Presbyterian minister in the city and vice-provost of the College. Ezra Stiles thought him eminent in scholarship, perhaps the first in America, especially in Greek. They maintained a long correspondence, for Alison had lived some time in New England before coming to Philadelphia. Born in Ireland and graduated from Glasgow, which gave him a D.D. in 1738, he was given the task of organizing a boys' school below Philadelphia by the Synod of Philadelphia in 1744. Some eminent men were his scholars: Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress and Constitutional Convention; John Ewing, a provost

[150] 322 Spruce Street. ... A Photographic View of the House, No. 322 Spruce St., South side, above 3rd. Philadelphia, 1859, pp. 4-6.
Pamphlet by "one who received baptism at the hands of Mr. Marshall, was brought up under his ministry, and has ever retained an affectionate remembrance of him. H."

of the University of Pennsylvania and colleague in the pastorate with Alison; David Ramsay, M.D., the historian; Hugh Williamson, a framer of the Constitution; and three Signers, Thomas McKean, George Read and James Smith. Alison was "old side" in the hot religious controversy of his day. That is to say, he was not deeply impressed by George Whitefield, nor the movement that founded Princeton, nor the man who came there as president in 1768, namely John Witherspoon. So Witherspoon, for his part, "takes pleasure", says Stiles to his diary, July 16, 1772, "in abolishing the importance of Alison and Ewing and their old side Connexion". Stiles at the end of 1773, on December 4th, wrote five letters to London to get help for Alison's Academy at Newark, Delaware, and then "went to the synagogue at Newport to listen to Rabbi Tobiah Bar Judah preach in Dutch".[151]

Also among the Presbyterians were Robert Davidson (aet. 24), teaching at the College, and John Ewing (aet. 42) who was out of the country seeking funds abroad. The Pennsylvania Packet of October 15th stated: "We hear that the University of Edinburgh have conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon the Rev. Mr. John Ewing of this city". His grandson, writing in 1860 says of him, "He held frequent conversations with Lord North; with that frankness and independence of sentiment which characterized him, he expressed his confidence in the resources and power of the people of the united colonies.

[151] Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 423.

[illegible]

To the minister he predicted the issue of the contest, and urged him to pause before he alienated irretrievably, from the mother country, the affections of loyal subjects."[152]

The leading clerical figure in Philadelphia that summer was the Rev. Dr. William Smith (aet. 47), whom Deane described as "a most extraordinary compound"[153] and John Adams found "a plain man, tall and rather awkward: there is an appearance of art".[154] A man of many interests, wide influence and abounding energy, he arrived in America in 1751 from his native Scotland where he was a graduate of Aberdeen, and went as tutor to a gentleman's sons on Long Island. Two years later he returned to England for holy orders, coming back to Philadelphia the next year on May 22nd, staying at the Ton Tavern. Two days later he was inducted provost of the new college. The delegates to the Albany Conference with the Five Nations were assembling and Smith, who came from England full of schemes for education and for conferences with Benjamin Franklin and the Rev. Richard Peters, two of the delegates, had to wait upon their return. The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was actively pressed by Smith. The college was granted power to give degrees in 1755. Masonic observances were marked by his sermons.

Political controversy was rife between the Assembly and the Proprietaries, the Presbyterians and Churchmen, and he

[152] North American and United States Gazette. Feb. 2, 1860.

[153] Burnett. op. cit. p. 1.

[154] Adams. op. cit. p. 360.

[124] Adams. op. cit. p. 360.

[125] Hammett. op. cit. p. 1.

suffered a brief imprisonment with William Moore, Esq. of Chester, the first judge of the Common Pleas. Moore opposed the Society of Friends because of their stand on war and was charged by the Quaker controlled Assembly. He refused to plead as a judge and wrote an answer which Smith had published in a German newspaper of Philadelphia, Colonel William Bradford having already published it in The Pennsylvania Journal. Both Moore and Smith pleaded innocent of the libel charged. Ultimately Smith was liberated from confinement by a court order after the Assembly adjourned. It was a cause célèbre. In the minds of many it gave a strange look to Quaker doctrine which revolted from defensive war, but pursued to the limit a person of the life and position of Smith. Soon after, Smith went to England where he was recommended for an honorary doctorate in divinity from Oxford, which diploma was placed in his hands March 27, 1759, only six months after his incarceration. On the same trip he won a favorable verdict from his appeal to the King.

The sixties brought another acrimonious dispute over the pastoral services of the Rev. William Macclanechan at Christ Church. This was exacerbated by the letter of eighteen Presbyterian ministers sent on the occasion of the annual Synod meeting in Philadelphia and addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The letter was disowned by the Synod but added nothing to the fraternal love between the groups involved. In 1762, Smith again travelled to England where he solicited funds for the college. He welcomed Whitefield to preach in

the College Hall (1765) originally built for Whitefield's preaching. Scientific pursuits occupied part of this busy man's time as he, with Dr. Ewing, watched the transit of Venus and reported to the Philosophical Society in 1769. No wonder John Adams described him as "very able". He was active in the summer of 1774, and the only clergyman elected a deputy to the Pennsylvania Convention. On June 18th he addressed the Grand Joint Committee of the Freeholders and Freemen in Philadelphia.[155]

"Gentlemen, The occasion of this meeting has been fully explained to you and sundry propositions read, which are now to be separately offered for your approbation or disapprobation. But before you proceed to business, it has been thought proper to submit a few things to your good judgment, with respect to the order and decorum necessary to be observed, in the discussion of every question.

"It need not be repeated to you, that matters of the highest consequence to the happiness of this province, nay of all British America, depend upon your deliberations this day -- perhaps nothing less than, whether the breach with the country from which we descended shall be irreparably widened, or whether ways and means, upon constitutional grounds, may not yet be devised for closing that breach; and restoring that harmony from which, in our better days, Great-Britain and her colonies derived mutual strength and

[155]Smith. op. cit.

glory, and were exalted into an importance that, both in peace and war, made them the envy and terror of the neighbouring nations.

"While subjects such as these are agitated before us, every thing that may inflame and mislead the passions should be cast far behind us. A cause of such importance and magnitude, as that now under our deliberation, is not to be conducted to its true issue by any heated or hasty resolves, nor by any bitterness nor animosities among ourselves, nor even perhaps by too severe a recapitulation of past grievances; but requires the temperate and enlightened zeal of the patriot, the prudence and experience of the aged, the strength of mind and vigour of those, who are in their prime of life; and, in short the united wisdom and efforts of all; both high and low, joining hand in hand, and setting foot to foot, upon the firm ground of reason and the constitution.

"Whenever party distinctions begin to operate, we shall give cause of triumph to those, who may be watchful as well as powerful to abridge us of our native rights. There ought to be no party, no contention here, but who shall be firmest and foremost in the common cause of America. Every man's sentiments should be freely heard, and without prejudice. While we contend for liberty with others, let us not refuse liberty to each other.

"Whatever vote is known to be now passed, upon full deliberation, and by the unanimous voice of this great city and county, will not only be respected through all America,

but will have such a weight as the proudest Minister in England may have reason to respect. But if it is known to be a divided vote, or adopted hastily on some angry day, it will only be injurious to our own cause.

"What I have in charge to request of you is this -- that if, on any point, we should have a difference of sentiments, every person may be allowed to speak his mind freely, and to conclude what he has to offer, without any such outward marks of approbation or disapprobation, as clapping or hissing; and that if a division should be necessary (which it is hoped may not be the case this day) such division may be made in the manner desired by the Chairman, with all possible order and decorum".[156]

To keep the record straight, it is necessary at this point, to register a view of Benjamin Franklin which is far from flattering. Heart-burnings of so long ago might well be left in oblivion except for the fact that because they were hot in 1774 and still did not impede the unanimity of the colonial leaders, it is proper to revive them. Locally in Philadelphia, Franklin had many detractors. The success of his electrical experiments was attributed to the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, a young faculty member of the college who worked with Franklin, but Franklin published the results. Franklin made disparaging remarks about the college, and Smith,

[156]Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 63. June 30, 1774. p. 3, col. 2.

when in England, felt the adverse effect in the gifts he received. Franklin called it "a narrow bigoted institution", even while a trustee. Smith and Franklin fought on opposite sides in the political battles of Pennsylvania in the 1750s and 60s, and there was, of course, Franklin's private life. On the eve of the Revolution, we find Jonathan Boucher deeply disturbed by Franklin whose lax religious views were abhorrent to a good many seriously religious minds of several denominations. To be sure, Franklin was sympathetic to Whitefield, and the preacher was hard on his path. Whitefield wrote to Franklin January 17, 1755 from Virginia: "I have seen your Epitaph (the well-known composition of Franklin). Believe on Jesus, and get a feeling of possession of God in your heart, and you cannot possibly be disappointed in your expected second edition, finely corrected, and infinitely amended. Verbum sapienti sat est. I could say more, but time is short."[157] There was a mischievous levity in Franklin so that such backing as he gave seems slightly tarnished. He might be pulling down one side while approving another.

[157]George Whitefield, Works. London, 1771. Vol. III, pp. 114-115. The epitaph reads:

> Like the cover of an old book,
> Its contents torn out,
> And stripped of its lettering and gilding,
> Lies here food for worms.
> But the work shall not be lost,
> For it will (as he believes) appear once more
> In a new and more elegant edition,
> Revised and corrected by the Author.

The Rev. Jacob Duché (aet. 37), who was in the limelight at St. Peter's and Christ Church, was a Philadelphian by birth, the son of a vestryman of Christ Church. A vestry minute of February 7, 1774 shows those present included the Rector (the Rev. Richard Peters, aet. 70), John Wilcox and Joseph Redman, wardens, together with Joseph Sims, Jacob Duché, Charles Stedman, Thomas Cuthbert, Benjamin Wynkoop, John Gibson, Peter DeHaven, Benjamin Chew, Edward Shippen, Samuel Powell, Dr. John Morgan and James Humphreys.[158] Duché was paid £ 350 per annum, the other two assistants, the Rev. Thomas Coombe (aet. 27) £ 300 and the Rev. William White (aet. 26) £ 150. Income to the Rector came from various sources, ground rents, etc.

The brilliance of Duché was widely hailed. A member of the first class of the University of Pennsylvania (1757) with Hugh Williamson and James Latta (both from Alison's school), Francis Hopkinson (later Duché's brother-in-law), and Dr. John Morgan (his companion at the vestry meeting), he went to Clare Hall, Cambridge, England for graduate study, and returned as deacon, to teach oratory in the college. In 1762 he went again to England for ordination and was called to Christ Church and St. Peter's. William White thought he had the finest voice he had ever heard in the pulpit, save Whitefield's. He was also greatly admired by his superior, the Rev. Richard Peters. Bad eyesight forced Duché to memorize, which vastly

[158] MS Minutes. Christ Church. op. cit.

enhanced his dramatic effect. His literary efforts included, "Human Life a Pilgrimage: or The Christian a Stranger and Sojourner upon Earth: a Sermon, occasioned by the death of the Honorable Richard Penn, Esq.; one of the Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania; Preached before the United Congregations of Christ Church and St. Peter's in the City of Philadelphia, on Sunday April XXI 1771" and "Observations upon a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; in a Series of Original Letters, written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who resided some time in Philadelphia, Revised by a Friend, to whose hands the Manuscript was Committed for Publication [signed] Tamoc Casapina". The signature meant "Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America".

Duché was a droll fellow full of the adulation of many admirers. Stalwart New Englanders of a more conservative cast of mind were to be won by his witchery before the summer was over. Samuel and John Adams eagerly approved his offering prayers in canonicals at the opening of the Congress and warmly praised his devotions. He was elected a chaplain to Congress and preached before that body at Christ Church on July 20, 1775, marking a General Fast "recommended" by Congress (though not in the Prayer Book or by Royal Proclamation). He was a "high son of Liberty". In 1777 when the British occupied Philadelphia, and Washington was in retreat, Duché had a change of heart: rather he lost heart. He felt Washington and the Army must do what Congress and shattered public morale

seemingly could not do; come to terms with the Mother Country without prolonging the war. As a result he wrote a letter to Washington, which was promptly turned over to the intelligence service, whereupon Duché found himself a hasty refugee. His defection left a bad memory, though not like Arnold's. Francis Hopkinson, Duché's brother-in-law and a Signer, got early word of Duché's views and like Washington was in consternation over the affair. Duché wrote to Washington after the War and received a friendly reply, purely on personal grounds. Duché did not, however, deem it wise to return to Philadelphia and only did so in 1790, broken in health from a stroke. He died in 1798.[159]

The Rev. Richard Peters, rector of St. Peter's and Christ Church, was almost at life's far horizon when Philadelphia was seeing the dawn of its great day. He died July 10, 1776 at the age of 72. In 1774 he was the dean of the city's clergy, with his heart deeply centered on spiritual things. William White, who was his young Timothy in the clerical calling, said he was tinged with the thinking of Jacob Behman and William Law.[160] He was born in Liverpool and came from England in 1735. After a rather brief tenure of clerical duties, he drifted into the Land Office of the Proprietors and was Secretary of the Province and Principal Agent & Commissioner of Property until about 1761 where he exercised an enormous

[159]Sprague. op. cit. Vol. 5, p. 180 ff.

[160]Ibid. Vol. 5, p. 91.

[159] Sprague. op. cit. Vol. , p. [illegible].

[160] Dodd, Vol. , p. 74.

influence though he retained the affection and often assumed the duties that belong to the parish priest. He shared with Franklin the public confidence on matters like the great Indian Treaty of 1754, drawn at Albany, where he went as a delegate. He was one of the founders and President of the Board of Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy. Judge Richard Peters, his nephew, who knew him as "patron, friend and tutor and for the great part of my life, my companion", said "his heart was warm, his purse open". The elder Peters had been bred to the law in youth, which accounts for his legal proficiency. Indeed the famous Sergeant Bootle was his mentor. Some of his education was acquired in Leyden, but he received his degree from Oxford which also gave him a D.D. in 1770. Richard Peters while no "tory" felt that "he did not see his way clear to independence".[161]

Lesser figures among the Anglican clergy in 1774 were William Stringer, Sydenham Thorne, and William White. The last, only 26, was rapidly coming to worthy fame, to die Bishop White, whose name is in all the churches.

The Rev. Joseph Pilmore (aet. c. 40), who came to America in 1769 as a missioner from Wesley, is reckoned the first Methodist minister of Philadelphia. He preached his first sermon in Philadelphia from the steps of the State House and was, like his colleagues at that time, in and out of the Anglican fold, for Wesley's great work was then a movement

[161]Letter from Judge Richard Peters (Junior) to William Rawle, Esquire. Pennsylvania Magazine. Vol. 23, pp. 205-209.

rather than a denomination. From the organization point of view, it lapsed during the Revolution and at the end of hostilities, Pilmore, who stayed in the country, turned to the Episcopal Church, which was also badly shattered as an organization. He was ordained by Bishop Samuel Seabury. In March, 1770 Jacob Hiltzheimer heard him "preach on Fourth Street for the benefit of prisoners", [162] and in June, 1772 Nicholas Biddle wrote his brother Charles that he had heard "Mr. Pilmores morning prayer which he in usual manner of expressing calls a dawnd fine one. I hourly hear dawnd ones But fine ones only on Sundays and our Minister told me a few days ago that it was mere mockery to preach here besides he said he could not preach against any folly or Vice Scarsely without seeming to offer an affront to the whole Congregation".[163] Three parishes in the vicinity of the city absorbed Pilmore's active zeal and he preached every Sunday night at St. Paul's where multitudes gathered to listen. It is said that he married one hundred couples a year, so great was his popularity among the rank and file of younger people. Pilmore had a fine physique and sparkling personality and in 1774, at forty, was in the prime of life. One who heard him preach said he wrote his sermons and began dutifully reading from his text. His voice was round and his delivery, though clear, was without much animation. Then he would begin to glow, his eye kindle,

[162] Hiltzheimer. op. cit. Vol. 16, p. 95.

[163] Letter from Nicholas Biddle to his brother Charles. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 74, p. 366.

the muscles of his face expand and as his soul seemed to catch on fire, a torrent of eloquence would issue from his mouth. His gestures, otherwise quiet, would become animated. His manuscript would be gathered into a roll in his hand and he would shake it at his audience. He ministered at St. Paul's through the terrible Yellow Fever year of 1793, went to New York for a time, and then back to Philadelphia where he died at 91. His portrait hangs in the hallway of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[164]

The Muhlenbergs loomed large on the clerical horizon of Philadelphia in 1774, though they were traditionally soft-spoken on political questions. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (aet. 63) was one of the foremost colonial Americans and his sons, eminent men. The youngest, Henry Ernest, was associated with him in the pastoral care of two big Lutheran churches, Zion's and Christ, built near together and shepherding many hundreds of parishoners. Germans represented one third of Pennsylvania's citizens. Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg took Anglican orders and was a general in Washington's army. A curious letter exists written about the end of 1775, by brother Frederick Augustus (to become the first Speaker of the House under the Constitution),[165] full of gentle raillery at the robust belligerency of the newly military member of the family. He wrote: "If you do not perceive where my thoughts took their rise, I tell you they come out of the

[164] Carrow. op. cit. pp. 200-211.

[165] Oswald Seidensticker. Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 13, pp. 184-192.

fullness of your brother's upright heart: who loves you tenderly - who, with good reason, is concerned that you engrossed yourself only too much, in things which did not become you as a preacher, and were absolutely no part of your office. That seems to have irritated you a little - you are acting on that. ...what a man falls to if he writes out of his calling! Brother! Brother! the rough soldier really appears from behind the black gown. ...Now follows your answer to my observation. 'I am a clergyman it is true, but I am a member of society as well as the poorest layman, and my liberty is as dear to me as to any man; shall I then sit still and enjoy myself at home, when the best blood of the continent is spilling? Heaven forbid it!'

"Answer. Words, nothing more. He who has an office, let him speak the words of his office. ...if you then in your heart are convinced of the rectitude of our cause, there is opportunity enough, in your calling, to assist the cause of freedom with all your might, whereby you can, on the whole, be of more service than if you went in now, and perhaps would be obliged to lose your life.

"... I believe I have been as firm in our American interests, and am still, as you - although I am no Colonel, and go to no battle fields. ... I am inclined much more to think it was an over hot self love, and a little seeking for glory, or the appearance of a great man who represents something weighty; these were the secret springs which compelled you to stick your hand into this political nonsense. ... I

cannot comprehend how you can let yourself into things, with a good conscience, which absolutely do not belong to your offices. ... I do not consider it right that you are soldier and preacher, at the same time. No one can serve two masters. I struggled for a long time with my own hesitations. I see the preacher's office as the most difficult and most important of all. I recognize my complete incompetence for it, and how little I am in a position to perform the great and weighty duties which the calling brings with it. Perhaps it comes from that, that I am disinclined to believe that a preacher can give up his office with a good conscience, and subscribe to another calling. You think he can be a preacher and a colonel, at the same time. How different are our ways of thinking!

"... That the Divine foresight, which watches over all, may especially keep watch over you upon your dangerous post, and in Grace protect you, is my daily wish and prayer. May the God of Peace turn all hearts to peace, that in our blooming land unity may again prevail. ..."[166]

John C. Kunze (aet. 30), son-in-law and able colleague of the Muhlenbergs was co-pastor at Zion's Church and a strong man. He helped establish the German department of the University of Pennsylvania and from this department Franklin College was established in Lancaster in 1787.[167] There is little

[166]From translation of MS letter, copy in Library of Congress.

[167]Dubbs. op. cit. p. 260.

evidence, however, that he participated in the political activities of the times.

Any detailed description of the annual convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania for September 1774 is lacking. This is also true for 1775 and 1776. The times were troubled and records, possibly made at the time, may have been lost. However, from the first meeting in 1748 there was a very continuous succession of annual assemblies. The first convention took place in Philadelphia and that of 1773 was also in Philadelphia. Other meeting places were Lancaster, Providence, Germantown, Tulpehockon, New Hanover, and Reading. The meeting scheduled for 1774 was at Lancaster. The only data we have on this Convention come from Muhlenberg's Journal. Muhlenberg himself was on a mission to Georgia when the Congress met.

Political expressions are notably absent from the writings of Lutherans in 1774. Lutheran historians modestly declare that their people had a small part in affairs at the time. This is true insofar as publications go, but the silence is vocal. Lutherans had a strenuous political experience in Europe. The glorious revolution landed a Lutheran reigning house in England. Lutheran services were held at St. James's. English monarchs spoke German and in America thousands of German settlers used the mother tongue of the Rhineland. Pennsylvania was one of the places where the German element was strongest. They were almost equally divided between the Reformed and the Lutheran communions but they held hands with

other German groups who were Brethren (Moravians) and looked complacently upon Anglicans with whom they maintained a close fellowship. John H. Sydrick, the Moravian pastor, like his followers, led a sequestered life, only coming forward into prominence when Washington needed hospital space for his sick and wounded. The Lutherans were very influential but were not required to take any hasty stand one way or the other in the controversy.

Young William Rogers (aet. 23) had become pastor of the Baptist church in 1772 "in consequence of an invitation". He was the first and, for a time, the only student of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, graduating in 1769 in its first class. A long and distinguished career lay before him but in 1774 there were only youth and promise. A medical student, Solomon Drowne, came from Rhode Island to study and boarded with the Rogers at £ 41 per year. His letters home describe Philadelphia as it must have looked to the delegates in the fall of 1774. 470 houses were built that year, to house the burgeoning community with its crowded streets full of "Coaches, Chaises, Waggons, Drays" rattling and creaking and the thronged Wednesday and Saturday markets. Drowne describes a woman who came to market with her saddle bags full, pigs on one side and puppies on the other. The streets crossed each other at equal intervals, with beautiful wide High (Market) Street in the center. Squares marked the four corners of the city. Lighted street lamps shone every night and brick paving made easy walking even in bad weather. The

State House, "House of Employment" (Poor House) and Hospital made "a very beautiful appearance". The houses were mostly small, few grand residences, though those few were very splendid indeed. Some of the houses were three or four stories high, but only fifteen feet square on the ground. All houses abutted directly on the foot way.[168] In these hundreds of houses lived a population of perhaps 32,000 persons. The core of religious organizations had under 4,500 communicants. Church family connections and others, using the Baptist rule of 5 to 1 would give about 80% of the population as church related. Some seven thousand were outside this number. Rogers, who was housing young Browne the medical student, after extensive service as Brigade chaplain under commission from Congress, was appointed a professor in the College and Academy of Philadelphia (later the University). He served until 1816 when he went to the State Legislature.[169] Rogers died in 1824, the last surviving chaplain of the Revolutionary War.[170]

The Society of Friends, the principal adornment of Penn's City, founded for their freedom and strongly reminiscent of their ways even to this day, as the meek are promised, had gradually fallen heir to much of the good things of the earth. Piety and thrift are common companions and Quaker ways were pretty profitable ways. Mercantile power brought political

[168] Harrold E. Gillingham, Dr. Solomon Drowne. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 48, pp. 230-237.

[169] William Rogers, A Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, 1772-1822. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 19, pp. 96-97.

[170] Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 46, p. 76 note.

authority, which was strongly conservative and so, generally, antagonistic to the movements of the times. Quakers, being opposed to violence, tended to refrain from the common excitement, as a letter from one of them demonstrates. Written from Philadelphia on "12 mo:6th 1774", it says in part: "It is very agreeable to perceive that the general Conduct of Friends here under the present difficult Situation of public Affairs is approved by our Brethren on your Side; we have the Satisfaction to observe that notwithstanding a few under our Name have been too much carried away with the Popular Glamours; yet that the Society are so preserved that I hope there can be no just occasion taken against a becoming Stillness; my brother John has been on a Journey into those Parts with our Friend Mary Leaver, & their Return being shortly expected we shall have more particular information of the Circumstance of Friends in that Country as we hear they have been at Boston Salem & the parts adjacent." The letter continues, "The sudden disolution of the Parliament must of course throw the nation into a ferment & is lookt upon here as a Political artifice of the Minister which may or may not turn out to the benefitt of restorring Peace to America. Had our Delegates in the Congress avoided their numerous Resolves & confined themselves to the Address to the King & the People of Great Britain their Proceedings would have been less exceptionable & more likely to be successful had they sent over a judicious deputation which was much urged; but the Warmth of the Virginians added to the crafts of the New England Men with some other

fiery Spirits defeated this rational proposal. Our assembly met yesterday on their own adjournment as in Course to proceed on the common public Business, & as the Proceedings of the Congress will naturally come before them. We hope there will be Prudence & Strength sufficient to prevent the adopting or approving of them tho there are some inflammatory Members who will doubtless warmly urge it. We shall be anxious to know the Contents of the King's Speech on which we may form a Judgement of the further Measures intended in respect of American Affairs if Administration should persist in prosecuting their present Plan these Colonies must inevitably be involved in very great Confusion."[171]

Another letter from a Philadelphia Quaker, dated Oct. 8, 1774, continues in much the same vein: "... We were in hopes that the Delegates would have begun their business with less warmth & in the first place have enjoined restitution for the private property destroyed, which might have opened their way towards a settlement of the Contest relating to taxation, but this they soon lost sight of, and we fear they are going into such measures as may involve us in great Confusion should not Administration at home take a different turn, but as Anger begets Anger if Lord North continues in power, he will be like to carry matters to the last extremity; and he has other means to accomplish his Ends than by Land forces."[172]

[171] MS letter from James Pemberton to Daniel Mildred. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pemberton Papers. Vol. 26, p. 125.

[172] MS letter in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pemberton Papers, Vol. 26, p. 165.

However, before the Republic was founded, some heavy Quaker influence had been thrown into the scales. "Hugh Wynne" was not a single individual but a whole regiment. The names of Friends signed to public papers of 1774, in the press and elsewhere include John and James Pemberton, Samuel Noble, and John Reynell. But they were not ministers of religion in the usual sense, because the Friends did not recognize such an office. Members of the Congress who signed the Association at the end of the session, October 20, 1774, included seven Quakers out of 51 signers, viz., Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, James Kinsey and Richard Smith of New Jersey, Samuel Rhodes, John Dickinson, Charles Humphreys and Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, and Joseph Hewes of North Carolina.

Roman Catholics had two places of worship in the city, St. Joseph's and St. Mary's where members of Congress once repaired for a service. John Adams' comments on the occasion are engrossing. He loved the music but apparently did not contemplate a change of allegiance. Priests ministering in 1774 were the Rev. Ferdinand Steinmeyer, better known as Father Farmer (aet. 54), and the Rev. Robert Molyneux his associate after June 1773. The Rev. John Baptist de Ritter came to Maryland in 1765 and later made his headquarters at Goshenhoppen on Perkiomen Creek where he died in 1787. Later we find the senior Catholic clergyman designated to the board of the College, representing one of the six denominations in Philadelphia thus honored. In his funeral sermon in 1786 Molyneux said of Steinmeyer, "he began his mission at

Lancaster, where he resided six years in all the poverty and humility of an apostle. From there he was called to Philadelphia, where he has lived ever since in the same humble and active style, esteemed by all ranks: and particularly reverenced and beloved by his flock ... His learning and other commendable qualifications soon drew the public notice ... he was admitted by the suffrages of his learned acquaintances, a member of the Philosophical Society."[173]

The Jewish community centered in Cherry Alley which began at Third Street and ran west between Race and Arch. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, and Maxwell Whiteman in 1957 gave a full collection of available history in a large and fully annotated volume of extreme value. Jews were unfranchised though peacefully active in their callings. With the Declaration of Independence, and the broadening of sympathies among all who wanted more freedom, the Jews came into a far wider field of action. Wolf and Whiteman point out one completely relevant fact, namely, that the bell, "Liberty Bell" ordered to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Penn's Charter of Liberties, was purchased by Isaac Norris, Jr. at the command of the Assembly and brought to Philadelphia in the ship Myrtilla, owned by the firm of Levy and Franks. Norris who read his own Hebrew Bible was struck by the noble and prophetic words of Leviticus, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Chap. 25, verse 10)[174]

[173] Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll. Westminster, Md., 1954. p. 190.

[174] Edwin Wolf and Maxwell Whiteman, History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson. Philadelphia, 1957.

CHAPTER XI

THE CASE FOR THE CROWN

When the Congress assembled at Philadelphia in September 1774, the place of religion was manifest. The first day, September 5th, was occupied by recognizing the membership, electing a president and secretary and presenting credentials. A committee was appointed to draw up rules for the business of the Congress and adjournment was taken. The second day (September 6th) was occupied with the business of fixing committees, establishing the method of voting, closing the sessions to the public, and requesting the Rev. Jacob Duché to attend on the morrow to open Congress with appropriate religious exercises. Samuel Adams wrote to Joseph Warren on the 9th that the fact that some of "our warmest friends" are members of the Church of England suggested the choice of Duché.[175]

In a "leisure moment" on September 16, 1774, John Adams wrote a letter to his wife, Abigail, in which he described the incident of the prayer before the First Continental Congress. "When the Congress first met, Mr. (Thomas) Cushing (of Massachusetts) made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. (John) Jay (of New York) and Mr. (John?) Rutledge of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, some Congregationalists, that we could not join in the same act of

[175] Adams. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 368 note.

worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose and said he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress, tomorrow morning (September 7th). The motion was seconded and passed in the affirmative." So on Wednesday the 7th, the Rev. Mr. Duché attended "in his pontificals" and read several prayers in the established form, then read the collect for the 7th day of September, and "after this unexpected to everybody struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced."[176] Joseph Reed thought the idea a "masterly stroke" and Samuel Ward called the prayer "one of the most sublime, catholic, well-adopted prayers I ever heard".[177] The diversity of religious sentiment, felt by Adams to be a factor if importance, was deftly handled at the opening of Congress.

Philadelphia seemed a strongly conservative place in which to meet. If the Congregationalists of New England were hot for action, there was no such group in Philadelphia. Presbyterians, who were commonly charged in England with

[176] John Adams, Familiar Letters of John Adams to his Wife, Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, 1875. p. 57.

[177] Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 27 note.

being foes to both Church and State, sent only four delegates to the Congress. There were eight Quaker delegates and the Friends were strongly against forceful steps, and mostly prosperous enough to deplore anything tending to end trade. Two Baptists were delegates and 33 Episcopalians were among the 56 members who sat in the First Congress. Looking over the assembly as its membership was gradually reported in the weekly papers (delegates were selected by Conn. June 3rd; Mass. June 17; Md. June 22; N.H. July 21; Pa. July 25; N.J. July 23; Del. Aug. 1; Va. and S.C. Aug. 2; R.I. Aug. 10; N.Y. Aug. 20; N.C. Aug. 25) the group looked both able and conservative. This was the view of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher (aet. 47) who prepared "A Letter from a Virginian" published in Boston on September 1st.

In his charge to the delegates Boucher lays down in the first place the proposition that the whole issue must be considered in the light of its context. "...your proceedings, and resolves, ought to depend by (sic) a competent knowledge of the character of the times, when the Colony charters were granted; of the Kings, by whom they were granted; of the People, to whom they were granted; of the purposes for which they were asked and obtained; of the tenor and spirit of the charters themselves, how they were understood, and construed by our Ancestors; by a knowledge in short of the history of our country, we may discover the general constitution of the colonies, and be able to judge whether the present discontents are founded on truth or ignorance."

Against the charge that the charters were granted without Parliamentary action Boucher observes: "... they (the settlers) felt and discovered infinitely more zeal, for their religious, than for their civil liberty, and would have been contented with half the privileges their posterity enjoy, for an act of toleration. ... If their charters were granted without the concurrence of parliaments, it was not because a parliament had no right to interfere, but because they (the charters) did not in those days appear of importance enough to be agitated in the great council of the nation."

Boucher then proceeds to lay down certain propositions as fundamentals in civil society.

A- "No political society can subsist, unless there be an absolute supreme power lodged somewhere in the society."

B- "The Colonies are constitutionally independent of each other." They are all self-confessed "loyal and dutiful subjects of his Majesty George the third." To claim exemption from Parliament is "repugnant to the ideas of all our fellow-subjects in Great Britain."

C- The only resource is therefore to "propose, with the modesty of subjects, some practicable plan of accommodation."

D- "Upon the subject of non-importation and non-exportation, I am at a loss what to say." Its practical expediency, he went on, looked dubious in the light of the computations of experts. Britain's business was too big to be much affected by colonial actions.

"Shall we punish ourselves, like forward children, who refuse to eat, when they are hungry, that they may vex their indulgent mothers?"

E- If the restraint is set up how can it be enforced. "Can you hope, by promises, by extorted promises, to restrain men from carrying on a clandestine trade with Great Britain, who trade every day with our inveterate enemies, in defiance of all law, and who grow rich by the spoils of the fair trader?"

F- "... there is one proposition, a self-evident proposition, to which all the world give their assent, and from which we cannot withhold ours; that whatever taxation, and representation may be, taxation and government are inseparable."

G- "Open ... the eyes of our infatuated countrymen; teach them to compare their happy situation, with the wretchedness of nine tenths of the globe; shew them the general diffusion of the necessaries, the conveniences and pleasures of life, among all orders of people here; the certain rewards of industry, the innumerable avenues to wealth, the native, unsubdued freedom of their manners, and conversation; the spirit of equality, so flattering to all generous minds, and so essential, to the enjoyment of private society, the entire security of their fortunes, liberty, and lives; the justice, the toleration of their religious opinions and worship ... Save them from the madness

of hazarding such inestimable blessings, in the uncertain events of a war, against all odds, against invasion from Canada, incursions of savages, revolt of slaves, multiplied fleets and armies, a war which must begin where wars commonly end, in the ruin of our trade, in the surrender of our ports and capitals, in the misery of thousands. Teach them in mercy, to beware how they wantonly draw their swords in defence of political problems, about which the best and the wisest men, the friends, as well as the enemies of America, differ in their opinions, lest while we deny the mother-country every mode, every right of taxation, we give her the right of conquest."[178]

It was not until 1797 that Jonathan Boucher put into print the sermons he delivered in the 1770's. Toward the end of his stormy ministry he carried pistols into the pulpit, and on one occasion was forcibly retired to his rectory by his friends, in the face of armed townsmen of Annapolis who were sent to oust him. He left the country in 1775. The dates appearing in the London edition (dedicated to Washington) are by years without month or day, so the precise circumstances

[178]Jonathan Boucher. A Letter from a Virginian to the Members of the Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the first of September 1774. Boston, 1774. pp. 11-31.

of the moment must be surmised.[179] However, it seems likely that his sermon "On the Strife Between Abram and Lot" of 1774 belongs to the fast day marked on June 1st. "On the Character of Absolom", "On the Character of Ahitophel" also belong to 1774. "The Dispute Between the Israelites and the Two Tribes and An Half Respecting Their Settlement Beyond Jordan" came in 1775 and answered his brother Anglican Dr. William Smith on "The Present Situation in American Affairs" preached at Christ Church, Philadelphia June 25, 1775. "On Civil Liberty" (1775) answers Jacob Duché's sermon of July 7th, 1775 on "The Duty of Standing Fast in Our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties". Both Smith and Duché were in the rolling waves of the rising tide of anti-British feeling, and far too complacent in the face of the danger as Boucher saw it. They were both fellow churchmen and could be confuted with good grace. Boucher happened to meet Washington enroute to the Second Congress.

[179]Jonathan Boucher, A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution in 13 Discourses, 1763-1775. London, 1797.

Washington responded with the following letter: "Mount Vernon, August 15, 1790. Revd. Sir: I know not how it has happened, but the fact is, that your favour of the 6th of Novr, last year, is but just received; and at a time when both public and private business pressed so hard upon me, as to afford no leisure to give the 'View of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution' written by you, and which you had been pleased to send me, a perusal. For the honour of its Dedication, and for the friendly and favourable sentiments, which are therein expressed, I pray you to accept my acknowledgment and thanks. Not having read the Book, it follows of course that I can express no opinion with respect to its Political contents; but I can venture to assert, beforehand, and with confidence, that there is no man, in either country, more zealously devoted to Peace, and a good understanding between the two Nations than I am, nor one who is more disposed to bury in oblivion all animosities which have subsisted between them, and the Individuals in each. Peace, with all the world is my sincere wish. ..."

He had taught Washington's stepson and the two had been easy correspondents for a number of years. Of this meeting Boucher records in his journal: "I happened to be going across the Potomac to Alexandria with my wife and other of our friends, exactly at the time that General Washington was crossing it on his way to the Northward, whither he was going to take command of the Continental Army. There had been a great meeting of people, and great doings, in Alexandria on the occasion; and everybody seemed to be on fire, either with rum, or patriotism, or both. Some patriots in our boat huzzaed, and gave three cheers to the General as he passed us; whilst Mr. (the Reverend Henry) Addison (of Pascataway Parish, Prince George County, Maryland 1742-1789) and myself contented ourselves with pulling off our hats. The General (then only Colonel Washington) beckoned us to stop, as we did, just, as he said, to shake us by the hand. His behaviour was now, as it had always been polite and respectful, and I shall ever remember what passed in the few disturbed moments of conversation we then had."[180]

[180] Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist 1738-1789. Autobiography of the Rev'd. Jonathan Boucher, rector of Annapolis in Maryland, and afterwards vicar of Epsom, Surrey, England. Edited by his grandson, Jonathan Bouchier. Boston, 1925. p. 109.

Correspondence between Washington and Boucher began with the following letter, written May 30, 1768 about placing young John Parke Custis in school. "...I should be glad therefore to know if it would be convenient for you to add him to the number of your pupils. He is a boy of good genius, about 11 yrs. of age, untainted in his morals, and of innocent manners. Two yrs. and upwards he had been reading of Virgil, and was (at the time Mr. Magown left him) entered upon the Greek Testament, tho I presume he has grown not a little rusty in

(continuation of Footnote #180)

both; having had no benefit of his Tutor since Christmas, notwithstanding he left the Country in March only. If he comes, he will have a boy (well acquainted with House business, which may be made as useful as possible in your Family to keep him out of Idleness) and two Horses, to furnish him with the means of getting to Church and elsewhere as you may permit; for he is to be put entirely and absolutely under your tuition, and direction to manage as you think proper in all respects. ..." (Washington. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 287)

The position of the people who resisted the tide of affairs was taken from Lord Clarendon whose history of the Great Rebellion depicted the struggle for constitutional balance under Pym and Hampden (with whom Clarendon worked) and its later stages, under Vane and Cromwell, from whom Clarendon withdrew. Boucher and the other Loyalists thought they saw the same transformation on the American scene. Vane had spent one stormy year in Massachusetts and once Cromwell embarked for the same country. "The primary aim ... of all well-framed Constitutions is to place man, as it were, out of reach of his own power, and also out of the power of others as weak as himself, by placing him under the power of the law."

The tendency discerned in 1774 was "violently pulling down an old, well poised Constitution arbitrarily to introduce, in its stead, what, if it be not anarchy, must at best be a democracy. Now it ought never to be out of the recollection of mankind, that democracies, even when established without either tumult or tyranny, and by the very general though perhaps not unanimous consent of the community, not contented with an equality of rights, in theory at least, naturally aim at an equality of possessions. That, to establish such a principle, or to promote measures which are likely to lead to its establishment, majorities may always be easily obtained, will hardly be disputed. Votes are easily collected, not only to equalize property, but to destroy all those artificial distinctions in society which are created by property --- the

evil of levelling property goes yet infinitely further. It destroys all the usual motives to exertion and industry; and, with them, a long train of concomitant virtues; above all it destroys security, which forms one of the most enduring charms of the social state".[181]

The next pamphlet for the Crown written by a clergyman, was The American Querist which appeared in September. To the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler (aet. 48) of Elizabethtown is assigned its authorship. The name of Dr. Myles Cooper (aet. 40?) of New York has also been mentioned. The question is rather academic since the two men were closely involved in many common interests and either was able to prepare it. The copy we use bears the name of Bancroft as once its owner and is, in the New York Public Library, listed as Chandler's composition. It is the tenth edition and has a footnote printed on the cover which reads: "This Pamphlet, on the 8th Day of September last, was, in full conclave of the Sons of Liberty in New-York, committed to the flames, by the Hands of their Common Executioner; as it contains some Queries they cannot, and others they will not answer."

The questions number 107 and fill 31 pages. One demands to know if free speech is only a one-way street, or (Question 3) "whether I differ more from another than he differs from me; and consequently whether he has a better right to abuse

[181] Jonathan Boucher, A View of the Causes, etc. op. cit. pp. 363-64.

[123] Gordian Knot, 1 Chr. 10, 203-04.

me for a difference in sentiment, than I have to abuse him?" Chandler's serious contribution is his attempt to thoroughly air the historic contents of the charters of the various colonies about which so much was being written by the champions of more local autonomy. In substance his claim is that these charters were designed and understood to set up business enterprises and not to set off independent jurisdictions. He asks (Question 32) "whether ... obedience to the laws of Great Britain, without any restriction or exception, was not clearly observed in all the charters granted to the colonies; and particularly, whether the right of parliament to lay taxes was not expressly and literally observed in the charter of Pennsylvania? He runs over a list: Virginia, Carolina, Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut and Rhode Island. He combats the contention that there is a distinction between the Crown and the King. "Subjection to the Crown of England [n]ever meant in public instruments subjection only to him who held the crown of England in his private or personal capacity ... the laws ... always mean, by the authority of the crown, the supreme authority of the nation, represented by the crown." Here was being elaborated in this crucial struggle the modern theory of the British Commonwealth; the presiding Monarch, the personal capstone of a congories of self-governing communities, freely giving allegiance to the person of the sovereign; and holding the doctrine of the total responsibility of ministers, whether in Whitehall or Ottawa, to the local representatives of the people in the

adjacent society. Taxation was the point of friction. For a time internal taxation was contrasted with trade regulation, but ultimately the two were found to be distinctions rather than differences. Chandler quotes, with approval, Dickinson's statement that anyone who considers the colonies as states distinct from the British Empire has a very slender notion of justice forgetting that the colonies are but parts of a whole and somewhere in that whole must reside a guiding force, which is Parliament. In 1774 the right to regulate trade was accepted by all, and independence was a reprobated idea, but finally the two fundamental truths came into focus: the power to tax is the power to destroy, whatever the reason may be; and the power of the tax payer to be the sole judge of his tax was a right established in England a century and a half before.[182]

When the Congress adjourned and its works became known, loyalists found little for comfort. A predominantly Episcopalian body, with Quakers besides, had whole-heartedly gone over to views and actions which were hardly conciliatory: the Non-Importation Agreement and the Endorsement of the Suffolk Resolves were matters that reflected a radical victory. There speedily appeared on the scene a Connecticut Yankee

[182]Thomas Bradbury Chandler. The American Querist: or, some questions proposed relative to the present disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies. New York, 1774. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer on Sept. 15, 1774 mentioned it - "this day is published".

named Samuel Seabury who made bold to emulate the noted "Farmer of Pennsylvania" by composing a series of pamphlets which were subscribed "Westchester Farmer". These were "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress" (November 16th), "The Congress Canvassed, or An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention" (November 28th); "View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies" (December 24th) and "An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York, Occasioned by the Present Political Disturbances in North America" (January 19, 1775). One result, worth recording, is the response elicited from teen age Alexander Hamilton, Seabury's fellow churchman, in his maiden effort in pamphleteering: "A Full Vindication of the Congress, from the Calumnies of their Enemies; in Answer to a Letter under the signature of A. W. Farmer. Whereby his Sophistry is Exposed, his Cavils Confuted, his Artifices Detected, and his Wit Ridiculed; in a General Address to the Inhabitants of America, and a Particular Address to the Farmers of the Province of New York."

Samuel Seabury was a classmate with Naphtali Daggett at Yale in 1748, ordained in England and returned to serve churches in New Jersey, on Long Island, and at St. Peter's Westchester, New York. A hard working parson under heavy financial burdens, he ministered to several congregations at the same time, opened a school for boys, and upon occasion exercised his medical skill learned in Edinburgh. From the beginning he viewed with horror the enthusiasm for political

change and set himself to do what he could to bring his countrymen from the error of their ways. He was forty-five when he put pen to paper. The four articles are of unequal length, but closely printed and together include forty thousand words. It was a literary effort of considerable magnitude. No publisher's name appears on the title page of the first two, but James Rivington subscribes the third and fourth. Rivington also published Hamilton's answer to the first paper.

No doubt exists that Seabury was the author. It was commonly suspected at the time. His terrible treatment and imprisonment (a blot on the patriot cause) were directly caused by this suspicion when his denial would have released him. In England in 1783, seeking elevation to the episcopate against the sentiment of English bishops, he gave these papers as evidence of his abiding loyalty to Church and Crown. Jonathan Boucher in England in 1783 and rather hopefully dreaming of a mitre for his own head, confidently endorsed the Seabury authorship. One statement by Seabury seems to be a denial, namely his declaration that he never wrote against the liberties of his compatriots. That is true as Seabury saw it and does not in fact deny his authorship, only his purpose. He was quite honest, quite loyal to the best interests of his people, and not a foe of liberty, as he conceived it, and when his case is read with full realization that he wrote at the end of 1774 one can understand that the Westchester Farmer gave pause to the zeal of the more

thoughtful people who read his words. Seabury became the spokesman for all loyalists when he summarized the feelings of his party. "It was the general opinion and expectation of those people I conversed with, that the congress would form some reasonable and probable scheme of accommodating our unhappy disputes with the mother country, and of securing our own rights and liberties; and that in order to make our union with Great Britain durable and permanent, they would endeavour to mark out the limits of parliamentary authority over the colonies; ascertaining, on the one hand, the liberties of the colonies, and on the other, giving full weight to the supreme authority of the nation over all its dominions. Had they attempted this, they would have done something towards accomplishing the important business on which they assembled. Though they might have executed it in an imperfect manner, it might probably have served for something to build upon; it would have been discussed here and at home; its errors pointed out; its advantages explained; its inconveniences obviated; and future improvements might have made it of real utility: At least, they would, by this conduct, have shewn their attention to the interests of the colonies, and would, even on that account, have deserved their regard; but they did nothing like this, on the contrary they spent near, or quite, two months, in approving and commending the mad proceedings of the people of Boston, and writing inflammatory addresses to the people of Great-Britain,

Quebec, and the other provinces; and in exercising an assumed power of legislation."[183]

The Case for the Crown as Seabury presented it may be gathered under several heads. He touched upon them in his different papers and his views can be better seen as a whole than by pursuing them at length through the succeeding tracts. One indictment of the Congress was on the point of its extra-constitutional character. "They had the insolence to proclaim themselves 'A FULL AND FREE REPRESENTATION OF ... HIS MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECTS IN ALL THE COLONIES FROM NOVA-SCOTIA TO GEORGIA."[184] "I have no inclination to scrutinize the characters of men, who composed the Congress. It is not the dignity of their private characters, but their public conduct as Delegates that comes under my examination. The manner in which they were chosen was subversive of all law, and of the very constitution of the province. After they had met they were only a popular assembly, without check or controul, and therefore unqualified to make laws, or to pass ordinances. Upon supposition that they had been chosen by all the people with one voice, they could be only the servants of the people; and every individual must have had a right to animadvert on their conduct, and to have censured it where he thought it wrong. We think, Sir, that we have a double right to do so, seeing they were chosen by a party only, and have endeavoured

[183] Samuel Seabury, The Congress Canvassed. N. Y., 1774, p. 13.

[184] Samuel Seabury, An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York, etc. N. Y., 1775, p. 5.

to tyrannize over the whole people."[185] Seabury was speaking particularly of New York but delegates from other colonies had been chosen by popular conventions, apart from, or antagonistic to the assemblies and definitely against the will of the governors and councils. He remarked one instance in New York where he claimed, at a called meeting, only half a dozen appeared of whom two were made delegates to Philadelphia. This, he averred was far from a unanimous approval, and the idea that non-voting citizens could be blithely listed as favorable seemed preposterous.

Addressing the Assembly of New York Seabury said, "You know whether, and how far, the people of this province are aggrieved by any acts of the British Parliament; and we look to you to procure us such relief as you shall think effectual. We know of no representatives but you, whom we have legally chosen. On your wisdom and integrity we can rely. We have long known, and often tried you. From you alone we expect the means of redessing [sic] our grievances, and of guarding our happy form of government, against all oppression from without, and all violence and insidious innovations from within. From you, we expect some plan of accommodating our unhappy disputes with our mother country, and of preventing a renewal of them, by obtaining such a line of government as shall establish the sovereign authority of Great-Britain over all the British dominions, and at the same time secure the rights and liberties

[185] Samuel Seabury, View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies. N. Y., 1774. p. 7.

of the Colonists: And your prudence and abilities we know are equal to the task."[186]

The rolling effect of the action of the Congress on trade with Britain evoked another line of attack. This was based on the claim that it taxed the colonies illegally, and after a very outrageous manner. Control of imports-exports was to be managed by gazetting offenders. Public opinion was expected to enforce the rule. Public opinion meant pretty violent measures. It was mob rule, action by the Sons of Liberty and like-minded revolutionary bodies. No trials were provided. The uncooperative citizen was never heard in his own defense. No law on the books gave warrant for the punishments accorded. Answering Hamilton at the end of December, Seabury wrote, "The Congress, Sir, was founded in sedition; its decisions are supported by tyranny; and is it presumption to controvert its authority? In your opinion, they 'are restless spirits,' ... 'enemies to the natural rights of mankind' who shall dare to speak against the Congress, or attempt to 'diminish the influence of their decisions' while they are friends to America, and to the natural rights of mankind, who shall traduce and slander the sovereign authority of the nation; contravene and trample under foot the laws of their country."[187]

"Nothing is called freedom but sedition, nothing liberty but rebellion." The measures of the Congress were "Illegal

[186]Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. p. 12.

[187]Seabury. View of the Controversy. op. cit. p. 6.

in their beginning, tyrannical in their operation, and they must be ineffectual in the event."[188] "You thereby also introduce a new authority into the province, highly derogatory from, and subversive of the power of the legislature: You establish a court of Inquisition, to decide, in the most arbitrary, tyrannical and unheard-of manner, upon the liberties and properties of your fellow-subjects, over whom you have no just or legal power: You lay an embargo upon all the produce of the farmers, and will thereby be enabled to purchase it at your own price: You have monopolized, into your own hands many of the necessaries and comforts of life, and you prevent any more from being imported; by which means you will command the purses of the poor people of the province, and may extort what sums you please from them in payment for your goods: And lastly, you promote and encourage riots, mobs and tumults, and make them the means of carrying into execution that abominable system of oppression which the congress have devised for the future government of the continent."[189]

When goods were confiscated under the radical methods set up by the Congress and a forced sale brought into the treasury sums of money, after paying the owner a base amount for his loss, the proceeds were to be sent to the poor of Boston. This really roused Seabury because he alleged that the poor of Boston were so only by their own obduracy and the relief

[188] Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. p. 4.

[189] Seabury. The Congress Canvassed. op. cit. p. 33.

was to be used to buy them arms, train soldiers and generally put New England in a posture of defense-offense against General Gage and the British occupation forces there deployed. "...the profit is to be applied to the relieving such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port-Bill. --- Good God! That men who exclaim so violently for liberty and the rights of Englishmen, should ever voluntarily submit to such an abject state of slavery! That you, who refuse submission to the Parliament should tamely give up your liberty and property to an illegal, tyrannical Congress: For shame, gentlemen, act more consistently. You have blustered, and bellowed, and swaggered, and bragged, that no British Parliament should dispose of a penny of your money without your leave, and now you suffer yourselves to be bullied by a Congress, and cowed by a COMMITTEE, and through fear of the Gazette, are obliged to hold open your pocket, and humbly intreat that the gentlemen of the committee would take out all the profits of a whole importation of goods, for the benefit of the Boston poor."[190]

On the great debate "Taxation without Representation" Seabury makes the following remarks. "The position that we are bound by no laws to which we have not consented, either by ourselves, or our representatives, is a novel position, unsupported by any authoratative record of the British constitution, ancient or modern. It is republican in its very

[190]Ibid. p. 17.

nature, and tends to the utter subversion of the English monarchy. This position has arisen from an artful change of terms. To say that an Englishman is not bound by any laws, but those to which the representatives of the nation have given their consent, is to say what is true: But to say that an Englishman is bound by no laws but those to which he hath consented in person, or by his representative, is saying what never was true, and never can be true. A great part of the people in England have no vote in the choice of representatives, and therefore are governed by laws to which they never consented either by themselves or by their representatives. The right of colonists to exercise a legislative power, is no natural right. They derive it not from nature, but from the indulgence or grant of the parent state, whose subjects they were when the colony was settled, and by whose permission and assistance they made the settlement."[191]

Probably the greatest shock of all to the susceptibilities of churchmen moderates, was the unanimous approval given by the Congress to the Suffolk Resolves. The Massachusetts local governments, after the breakdown of their colonial machinery, resorted to local town-meetings and county assemblies. On October 7th they organized the first Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Salem. Governor Gage had issued precepts for a General Court to be held on that day, and then, in the face of the gathering storm, had recalled his orders.

[191]Seabury. View of the Controversy. op. cit. p. 10.

The Towns and Counties went ahead and met. Without legal order they perforce met independently and so began provincial self-government. Early in September the Suffolk County representatives met and passed a set of resolutions which were swiftly sent on to the Congress in Philadelphia by the hand of Paul Revere. These resolutions evoked enormous enthusiasm on the part of all the high Sons of Liberty, and, surprisingly, carried along the body of the delegates in general. On the day the copy of the Suffolk paper was received (Saturday, September 17th) the Congress resolved "that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren, a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon."[192]

On this Seabury commented "They adopted a mad set of resolves, framed by an arch rebel, (Joseph Warren) who hath since fled his country, for fear of being apprehended, and imposed afterwards upon the deluded people of the county of Suffolk in the provinces of Massachusetts-Bay; approving their wisdom and fortitude, and recommending 'a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in the' said resolves, --- notwithstanding those resolves entirely unhinged the civil government of that province, fomented a spirit of dissatisfaction to Great-Britain, and of rebellion

[192] Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Sept. 17, 1774.

against the state; and declared that the prople of that county would not act always on the defensive, against the King's troops."[193]

[193]Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. pp. 5-6.

CHAPTER XII

AN INFLUENTIAL NEIGHBOR

Although busy with his presidential and pastoral duties in Princeton, Dr. John Witherspoon was engrossed with the cultivation of young men in the principles of sound religion and a wide culture. He was the principal professor and lectured on both theology and moral philosophy (political science). He had secured The Orrery, a clever invention of David Rittenhouse, which graphically depicted the solar system by mechanical means, a vivid portrayal of the balance of gravitational forces, and a lesson in political science on Newtonian lines. The debt ridden state of the college when he arrived in America, had yielded to his management and his salary had been increased to 400 pounds. His little estate, called Tusculum, where he enjoyed a flourishing kitchen garden but not much of a farm was close at hand. He preferred to ride horseback rather than use the chaise or wagon. Even when he was busy in Philadelphia through the long years of his service as delegate, he generally rode horseback between Philadelphia and Princeton.

It is significant to find John Witherspoon a guest preacher in the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia on Sunday the 4th of September, the day before the Congress was to assemble. Witherspoon did not take his seat as a delegate from New Jersey until June 28, 1776, but he served in every Congress thereafter through 1783. Witherspoon came

to Princeton in 1768. As a young man he was present at the Battle of Falkirk in the Forty-five, and saw English troops in retreat. It cured him of excessive fear of the red-coats. After all they were but men and there were better men. When the Congress was ironing out the wording of their protests and referred to the Scot in a derogatory manner, Witherspoon was understandably annoyed and his protest availed to remove the offending words. But he matched his protest with a ringing message to his fellow-countrymen living in America, admonishing them of the issues involved, a plea which swung many a stout Scotch heart to the cause of the Colonies. Meanwhile he was lecturing to his students, leading them in paths of knowledge and the experience of faith. Andrew Hunter, Princeton Class of 1772, while a chaplain on the Sullivan Expedition in 1779 read Berlamaqui, a taste we believe he must have acquired at Nassau Hall. Assuming the title "The Druid", Witherspoon edified the readers of The Pennsylvania Magazine (published monthly in Philadelphia) with essays on timely topics, including a "Dialogue on Civil Liberty" which was a dramatic presentation given at Nassau Hall. Early in 1776 he wrote: "I look without solicitude, or rather with unshaken confidence of success, on the present glorious and important struggle for the liberties of mankind; so I consider it as a proper season for the most ardent application to the improvement of this country in all respects. In times of public commotion the human mind is roused, and shakes off the incumberances of sloth and self-indulgence. Those who put on the harness and

go into the field, must be encouraged, assisted, and even supported, by the activity and industry of those who remain at home. Besides, I am much mistaken if the time is not just at hand, when there shall be greater need than ever in America, for the most accurate discussion of the principles of society, the rights of nations, and the policy of states; all which shall have a place in the subsequent numbers of this paper. But above all, can it ever be unseasonable to lay before the public what tends to improve the temper and morals of the reader, which shall be the ultimate object of all my disquisitions? He who makes a people virtuous makes them invincible."[194]

Possibly, were it not for the rather slighting reference of Silas Deane, we might not know that on the Sunday afternoon before the first Congress took up its work, John Witherspoon was the guest preacher at the Second Presbyterian Church in Arch Street where James Sproat was pastor. The delegates attending had a chance to hear and to meet the attractive Scot, then turned fifty. Of robust build and pleasant face, Dr. Witherspoon had what his admirers called "presence". In a room of people he stood out and in conversation he had wit and humor duly harnessed to a capacious mind and a sensitive heart. He was proud and honest about his calling and, unlike some of his clerical colleagues, did not lay off his bands and robe when serving officially in non-ministerial functions.

[194] John Witherspoon, Dialogue on Civil Liberty. The Druid No. I. in The Pennsylvania Magazine, May, 1776. p. 205.

The picture by Peale which shows the Signers grouped about the room in Independence Hall, with Witherspoon in his flowing robe, wig and bands, is perfectly true to life.

Lecture X in his course on Moral Philosophy lists the "perfect rights in a state of natural liberty" as (1) a right to life, (2) the employment of one's faculties and industry for one's own use (property), (3) common necessities like air, water and earth, (4) personal liberty, (5) control of one's life, (6) private judgment in matters of opinion, (7) freedom to associate, and (8) the right to character. "Some" says Witherspoon, "have laid down schemes for making property common, as Sir Thomas More in his Utopia; but in general they are chimerical and impracticable. There is no instance in fact where any state that made a figure in the social life, had their goods wholly in common. ... Every good form of government must be complex, so that one principle may check the other ... it is folly to expect that a state should be upheld by integrity in all who have a share in managing it. They must be so balanced, that when every one draws to his own interest or inclination, there may be an overpoise upon the whole. ... Where there is a balance of different bodies ... there must be always some nexus imperii something to make one of them necessary to the other ... In order to produce this nexus, some of the essential rights of rulers must be divided and distributed among the different branches of the legislature. ... The ruling part of any state must always have considerable property ... property in a state is also

some security for fidelity, because interest then is concerned in the public welfare. ... In every government there is a supreme irresistible power lodged somewhere ... if the supreme power wherever lodged come to be exercised in a manifestly tyrannical manner, the subjects may certainly if in their power, resist and overthrow it. But this is only when it becomes manifestly more advantageous to unsettle the government altogether, than to submit to tyranny. ... If it be asked who must judge when the goverrment may be resisted, I answer the subjects in general, every one for himself. This may seem to be making them both judge and party, but there is no remedy. ... the meaning of this is not, that any little mistake of the rulers of any society will justify resistance. We must obey and submit to them always, till the corruption becomes intolerable, for to say that we might resist legal authority every time we judged it to be wrong, would be inconsistent with a state of society. ... The once famous controversy on passive obedience and non-resistance, seems now in our country to be pretty much over... In experience there are many instances of rulers becoming tyrants, but comparatively few of causeless and partial insurrections in every government."[195]

On the day before Witherspoon preached for Mr. Sproat (Princeton gave Sproat his D.D. in 1760) John Adams took breakfast with him at Dr. Shippen's, in company with Richard

[195] John Witherspoon, Lectures on Moral Philosophy. V. L. Collins, ed. Princeton, 1912. p. 67 ff.

Henry Lee, another house guest and brother of the hostess. Adams found that "Dr. Witherspoon enters with great spirit into the American cause. He seems as hearty a friend as any of the natives, an animated Son of Liberty."[196] He preached at an afternoon service, suggesting that Mr. Sproat considered it the more popular opportunity for visiting delegates to attend. John Adams had been at breakfast with Mr. Bayard and Mr. Sproat on Wednesday. Possibly Witherspoon also had been anticipated as a guest but failed to arrive. He undoubtedly stayed over until Monday the 5th, when the Congress assembled, virtually all delegates being present. Both Shippen and Bayard were officers of the Second Presbyterian Church where Sproat was pastor. Other officers included Gunning Bradford, Thomas Bradford, (the printer?), Daniel Goodman, who paid Mr. Sproat his stipend every Monday, Dr. John Redman, Dr. Benjamin Rush (who declined election to office that year "as his business will not admit of his attending thereto"), William Shippen, Jr., M.D., Jonathan B. Smith, a provincial deputy with Dr. William Smith that summer and later a delegate to the Congress with Witherspoon in 1778. William Shippen, Sr., sat in the Congress with Witherspoon in 1779 and 1780. These men would all be present to hear Dr. Witherspoon, and doubtless met him socially one way or another. Smith's City Tavern on the west side of South Second Street above Walnut was a daily rendezvous for all. It was the starting point for the opening grand march

196Burnett, op. cit. pp. 2-3.

to Carpenter's Hall on Monday the 5th, and for the big ceremonial welcome by city and colony to the assembled delegates on the 16th, at the State House, from the steps of which the "clergy" made one of the chief elements of festive attraction.

The Delegates to the Congress during their stay in Philadelphia had a chance to read The Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser of October 12th which carried an account of the annual commencement exercises at Nassau Hall, reported from Princeton under date of October 1st. It was also the occasion for the exercises of the Grammar School, run in conjunction with the college. "There was present, during the whole time, a very numerous assembly of Gentlemen and Ladies, some of them from the most distant provinces on the continent."[197] Hugh Brackenridge offered as a Master's Exercise, "A Poem on Divine Revelation". It includes 22 pages of verse, and traces the course of Divine Revelation through Scripture and into church history. He pays graceful compliments to Virginia and North Carolina. It closes with some lines which ought to appeal to "sons of Princeton" anywhere.

> "But this shall be my exultation still
> My chiefest merit and my only joy,
> That when the hunter on some western hill,
> Or furzy glade shall see my grassy tomb,
> And know the stream which mourns unheeded by,
> He for a moment shall repress his step,
> And say, There lies a Son of Nassau-Hall."

Honorary doctorates in divinity were bestowed on the Rev. Naphtali Daggett, president of Yale, the Rev. Noah Wells of

[197] Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1662. Oct. 12, 1774 (p. 2)

Stamford, Conn. and the Rev. John Joachim Zubly, of Savannah, Georgia. The honorary degrees bestowed showed the way the wind was blowing. Daggett met his death in 1779 as a result of bruises received when he went out to help defend New Haven against attacking British forces. Wells, another Yale man and classmate of Sproat, became a chaplain in the war. Zubly was a Swiss of eager nature who shifted about among the denominations. In Georgia he was a high Son of Liberty and succeeded in having the colony represented in Congress in 1775, although he failed in 1774. There is preserved a considerable exchange of letters between him and Ezra Stiles. 1774 marked about the height of his prominence and popular acclaim among patriots.

All this is significant as it pictures the atmosphere at Princeton and the general line which Doctor Witherspoon was taking. Visitors from distant places, students in the college, guests honored for their divinity were all kindred spirits. Jonathan Odell, Class of 1754, was the only clerical alumnus who sided with the Old Country in its struggle with the New. Witherspoon's trip to Philadelphia to be present and preach on the eve of the Congress does not seem to have been accidental. Sproat, Witherspoon's host over that weekend, may have helped plan the degrees to be given, but there was more than vocation in common among these men, and that was zeal for the prosecution of an effective stand against the prevalent drift of Royal Government in the Colonies. William Livingston was a delegate from Jersey and a classmate of Daggett. This interrelationship is always pertinent, and among clergymen it

plays a very active role. John Adams had discovered the mettle of Witherspoon on his way to Philadelphia. The weekend of August 27-28 found the New England delegation in Princeton where they kept the Sabbath. They saw the famous Orrery and other scientific apparatus proudly displayed by Dr. Witherspoon and attended prayers that Saturday evening. On Sunday Adams "heard Dr. Witherspoon all day; a clear, sensible preacher". The President told Adams his students were "all Sons of Liberty".[198]

Witherspoon once declared that only twice had he used his pulpit for a "political sermon". He preached on the Peace in 1783, and he had preached on Sunday, May 17, 1776 just before leaving to be a delegate to the Congress and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. This May 17th sermon was published under the title "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men." Witherspoon inscribed it to John Hancock, then President of the Congress. His reading of the march of events was summed up in the words of this Fast-Day Sermon. "In general there has been so great a degree of public spirit that we have much more reason to be thankful for its vigor and prevalence than to wonder at the few appearances of dishonesty or disaffection. It would be very uncandid to ascribe the universal ardor that has prevailed among all ranks of men, and the spirited exertions in the most distant colonies to anything else than public spirit. Nor was there ever perhaps

[198] Adams. Works. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 356-57.

in history so general a commotion from which religious differences have been so entirely excluded. ... At the same time ... though government in the ancient forms has been so long unhinged, and in some colonies not sufficient care taken to substitute another in its place; yet has there been, by common consent, a much greater degree of order and public peace, than men of reflexion and experience foretold or expected. From all these circumstances I conclude favorably of the principles of the friends of liberty. ..."[199]

[199] Witherspoon, The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 407.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MATRIX OF FREEDOM

The world of 1774 in America was far more coherent and mature than we realize. The ebb and flow of students to the colleges scattered up and down the coast together with the celebrations at commencements and the honorary degrees bestowed all tended to enlarge acquaintance through the body politic and between the colonies. Besides this there was a constant going to and fro across the ocean. All Anglican clergy had to go to London for ordination. Business and education sent medical students like Rush and Drowne, lawyers like the Charlestonians. South Carolina had eleven signers among the Americans in London who protested the Port-Bill, men who happened to be there on other business.

Shipping in and out of American ports was phenomenal. The weekly papers always carried shipping news including dozens of clearances both from ports in Europe and from the East and West Indies, as well as of coastal vessels plying among the cities of the colonies themselves. The two Rutledges, John and Edward, coming to attend The Congress chose ships for their passage. One came direct to Philadelphia, the other sailed to New York and then came south by land. They brought their families, and not being straitened for funds, arranged the trip for pleasure as well as for convenience. The ninety mile, two day trip between New York and Philadelphia was nothing insuperable. And the trade figures

are astonishing. The delegates on September 7th read in The Pennsylvania Journal a breakdown of imports and exports on an annual basis in pounds sterling which showed exports to Britain of three and a quarter million, and imports from Britain of nearly four and a half million.[200]

The Congress was a unique collection of men, in a city which was in its way unique. Philadelphia was already, in 1774, a veritable museum of religious practices. There were 19 churches in the city; 4 Presbyterian, 3 Friends' Meeting-houses, 3 Episcopalian, 2 German Lutheran, 2 Catholic, and one each of the following communions: Baptist, Moravian, German Calvinist, Methodist, and Jewish.[201] The strength of the various constituencies is harder to ascertain. The Baptist congregation had 173 members.[202] The two Lutheran churches had a combined membership of around 2,000 in 1785 (there are no earlier figures).[203] Exact numbers of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches for 1774 are not known. When the question of an "Augmentation of the Pews" was put to a vote at the annual Meeting of the members of Christ Church and St. Peter's on April 4, 1774, 83 ballots

[200] Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1657. Sept. 7, 1774, p. 2, col. 1.

[201] Watson, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 406. In 1771 a Rabbi told Ezra Stiles there were "about a dozen" families of Jews in Philadelphia and "they are opening a synagogue there". (Stiles, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 124)

[202] Minutes of the Baptist Association, etc. op. cit. p. 2.

[203] Communications from the Krauth Memorial Library, the Church Historical Society, and the Presbyterian Historical Society.

were cast.[204] If the number of places of worship rationally suggests the proportion of members we might tentatively estimate the membership of the religious groups as follows:[205]

900	Friends
800	Presbyterians
600	Episcopalians
600	Lutherans
400	Catholics
200	Baptists
200	Methodists
200	Moravians
350	German Reformed
100	Jews
4,350	

Church statistics are difficult to accurately gauge. Some communions include infants when baptized. Some list only confirmed or communicant members. Where immersion is

[204] MS Minutes, Christ Church, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 290.

[205] The Rev. William Smith, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury written November 28, 1759, gave what he considered a carefully ascertained distribution of the population of the Province of Pennsylvania among the various communions. His figures are quoted from Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1123-156.

1.	Of the Church of England about	25,000
2.	Quakers	50,000
3.	English, Scotch & Irish Presbyterians, Covenanter, etc.	55,000
4.	English Anabaptists	5,000
5.	German Anabaptists, or Menonists, and other Quietist Sects	30,000
6.	German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of England	35,000
7.	Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy & Discipline of the Church in most Articles	5,000
8.	German Presbyterians or Calvinists, who stile themselves the Reformed	30,000
9.	Roman Catholics, English, Irish and German	10,000
10.	Moravians and a small German Society called Donkers, about	5,000
	Total	250,000

practiced the membership is, by definition, a wholly adult group. The foregoing estimates would be of communicants narrowly considered. With adherents added (on the Baptist estimate which Dr. Stiles saw) of 5 to a unit, one arrives at a total church related population of about 25,000. In 1774 it may not be inaccurate to estimate the population at around 32,000. The figure of 34,400 is given for 1776.[206] It leaves 7,000 'who never bowed the knee' to any organized type of religious connection and gives the city of Philadelphia when the Congress met, a population with about 80 percent of church related inhabitants. Dr. Franklin, who had a pew in Christ Church, but who was not a communicant would come in that 80 percent, along with a great many other less distinguished people.

[206]U. S. Bureau of the Census. A Century of Population Growth.

Secretary (the Rev. Richard) Peters estimated the population of Philadelphia at 13,000 in 1744; 14,563 in 1753; 18,756 in 1760; and 28,042 in 1769. Dr. Franklin and other gentlemen made a count of the houses by wards in 1749, a rather practical approach, and found 1,864, with 11 places of worship. In 1769 another enumeration produced 3,318 houses. In 1777 when Howe took control, Lord Cornwallis made a particular count by direction and found 3,862 houses, and 383 of them empty. He found 315 places of business, principally in the vicinity of the Delaware River. In 1777 there were 1,286 houses in the Northern Liberties, 35 stores and 5,015 inhabitants. In Southwark there were 836 houses, 6 stores and 2,872 inhabitants. These immediately adjacent regions were in, but not strictly of, the City. Seventh Street was the western boundary of any kind of built-up housing, with Race St. the northern, and Spruce St. the southern borders of solid development. "The ground forming the square from Chestnut to Walnut street, and from Sixth to Seventh, was all a grass-meadow, under fence, down to the year 1794." (Watson, op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 236-39)

It is of some interest to note the locations of the various churches. Taking Carpenter's Hall, the meeting place of the first Congress as a center, and moving generally northward there were a dozen established places of worship as listed below, the farthest less than half a mile away as the crow flies. The distance in feet from Carpenter's Hall is given with the names:

Friends' Meeting	100
First Presbyterian	900
"Great" Friends' Meeting	900
Christ Episcopal	1300
Baptist	1500
Free Friends' Meeting	1600
Arch St. Presbyterian (2nd)	1600
St. George's Methodist	1600
St. Michael's Lutheran	1800
Zion Lutheran	1800
Synagogue Meckveh Israel	2000
German Reformed	2200
Moravian	2200

Turning southward from Carpenter's Hall the following could be seen:

St. Joseph's Catholic	500
St. Paul's Episcopal	700
St. Mary's Catholic	1000
Associate Presbyterian	1300
Pine St. Presbyterian	1800
St. Peter's Episcopal	1800

It was a snug little town. The City Tavern, center of social life, was 800 feet from Carpenter's Hall, and 1600 from the State House, no long walk to business. Nearly one hundred private carriages were kept by the more prosperous citizens and were freely placed at the delegates' disposal. That pleasant early fall was a gala occasion for all, especially the clergymen, and for the delegates, who wore themselves out in session from nine to three and in dining

and conversation from four till midnight.

When the City of Philadelphia entertained the delegates attending The Congress with a great banquet in the State House, the guests formed a procession at the City Tavern and marched in a body to the scene of the festivities. At the State House they were welcomed by the citizens of the place, among whom are first mentioned "the clergy". After personal greetings, the whole company, numbering five hundred persons, sat down to a banquet followed by speech-making and the drinking of thirty-two toasts. This polite pre-eminence afforded men of the cloth was more than an empty gesture. There was a sincere regard for the leadership which clergymen provided to the community. This leadership was, moreover, not something in name only, but a very practical day-to-day influence. There were about thirty ministers of religion serving the various churches in the city in 1774. They ranged in age from the seventies down into the twenties. Some had been many years in the city. Some were newcomers. Most were pastors, but some were educators and one had been for years secretary of the Province.

No other city in America had another such collection of different "religious societies". No wonder John Dickinson promptly consulted them earlier in the summer when he was making his way to a decision how to chart a course. It is obvious why Charles Thomson should have turned to them in May when he got ready his appeal for a general fast-day to mark June the first. The clergy of the city were probably

more widely acquainted throughout the Colonies than any other group. They met regularly in synods, convocations, or associations. They were much engaged in missionary work which took them far afield. The Friends were great travellers, constantly visiting in distant parts. The colleges were beginning to produce a body of alumni who knew one another from days together on campus. Sometimes they turned up on opposite sides of the great debate but they were familiar with one another. Many of these were clergymen, perhaps forty percent. This salting of men through the general society, lent a flavor to every part. It crossed colony, professional, occupational and denominational lines.

The impact of church feelings was illustrated by a news item in a Philadelphia paper issued during the Congress relating the experience of one of Governor Gage's Mandamus Councillors attending church in Plymouth, Massachusetts the Sunday after he had taken the oath. Upon his entering church a large section of the audience quietly rose and left, unwilling even to worship with the man.[207] Laymen on church boards in Philadelphia and in other communities were civil office bearers. Members of the vestry of Christ Church and the incorporated committees of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches have been identified from the church records

[207] Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1657. Sept. 7, 1774, p.2. The same paper on Oct. 5, 1774 (No. 1661, p. 2) noted that a Rev. Divine in Charlestown, South Carolina was dismissed because he said mechanics and country clowns had no right to dispute about politics or what the King, Lords, and Commons had done.

of 1774, as members of the Pennsylvania Convention called together the latter part of July. Church officers were included in the Congress itself. Indeed a canvass of the whole group of a score of places of worship (excepting the Friends who were officially opposed or neutral) reveals no clergyman in Philadelphia in 1774 who was openly hoitile to the Congress or its purpose. From Weyberg, off towards the Northern Liberties, right down to churches nearest Southwark where Duffield and Duchè ministered, none seems to have been antagonistic. One or two like Peters were cool, and one or two changed their attitudes as time went on. The Methodists were directed by Wesley to abstain from anti-British activity and all their ministry left the country save Pilmore who did not get into any difficulties. His personal popularity seems to preclude the idea that he was a Tory during the war.

This would not have been true in Boston where there was a virulent anti-American sentiment, nor in New York which was divided by a similar cleavage. Baltimore was not of one mind among its clergy, nor was Charleston. Philadelphia was certainly the ideal place for the Congress to meet. Sam Adams was delighted to find Duchè. Smith was omni-present on the reception committee, receiving one and all. Deane was pleased with Weyberg. The Muhlenbergs are to be numbered among the patriots as time unfolded. Delegates went to St. Mary's to worship, and Washington attended the Friends' Meeting.

John Adams canvassed the churches. September 4th found him at the Second Presbyterian where Mr. Sproat preached;

that afternoon he went to Christ Church and heard Mr. Coombe; the next Saturday, being the service preparatory to the Sacrament, he heard Mr. Spence at the Second Presbyterian to which he returned the following day. In the evening he went to the Moravian service; on the 18th he heard Coombe read prayers and Duche preach; for the second service he went to the First Presbyterian where Dr. Alison was pastor, and on the 25th to a Quaker Meeting; he heard Coombe again at Christ Church, October 2nd, and William Tennent of Freehold at the Second Presbyterian; the 9th was the Sacrament at the First Presbyterian and that afternoon he went either to St. Mary's or St. Joseph's and was edified by a discourse on the responsibilities of parents for their children. On Sunday, October 16th, he was forced to spend the day arranging papers for Congress, but on the 23rd he went back to the Second Presbyterian where the guest preacher was the Reverend Mr. Percy. (Piercey) chaplain to the Countess of Huntington, a post George Whitefield once held.[208] On week days Adams was

[208]Rev. Wm. Piercey, erroute from New York to Georgia also preached in Dr. Sproat's Church on October 16 and 18 and in the Pine Street Church of Duffield on October 19. A comment in a letter from the Rev. Wm. Stringer to the Earl of Dartmouth, written May 14, 1774, shows him to have been in Philadelphia then also. The minister's comments show signs of discord between denominations at the time, but these too were lost in the larger issues to come. "Mr. Persey is now here but his preaching constantly in the meetings hath given the clergy of the Church a disgust and prevented their inviting him to their pulpits for the same reason my vestry will not permit me to ask him; it really gives me concern (as he is an excellent preacher) that I cannot as I would shew my regard to him." (Wm. Salt Library, Stafford, England 2/D1778/901) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth. Abstracts appear in the volumes of Great Britain. Hist. Mss. Com. Dartmouth Papers.

occasionally in the company of clergymen and on his church going expeditions he mentions companions from among the delegates.[209]

There is no other diary of a delegate comparable to that by John Adams. There was hardly another man in the Congress to compare with him. It is interesting that the two whose church going finds most mention in their diaries, are Washington and Adams who became the first and second presidents of the United States.

Perhaps the chief surprise in this study of Philadelphia in 1774 is the highly organized and widely differing texture of religious life. The community was fully mature and able to assimilate the two-score and more official guests without undo strain. All the amenities of life and luxuries beyond any to be found elsewhere in such abundance along the whole Atlantic seaboard, were capable of making the delegates' sojourn comfortable and interesting. There was not a dull moment. As the fall days advanced, the lure of homes northward or southward drew the hearts of the members, but meanwhile the stay was exceedingly pleasant.

The steady play of religious life upon the community, we submit, was a potent factor in creating an atmosphere which strongly affected the character of the Congress. The observance of every religious sentiment was encouraged. Conformity to a particular church organization, prevalent in some of the

[209] Adams, op. cit. Vol. II. Entries under dates mentioned.

colonies was absent. Philadelphia was unique in the variety of freedom enjoyed.

Complete political agreement was not found. Using the same fundamental principles, men reached divergent conclusions as to ways and means. This was but the reflection of the same principle prevalent in religion. The influence of the churches was wider than their accredited membership, as is generally true. Around the periphery were individuals, sometimes strong personalities, who could hardly be included in any particular communion, but they were well within the atmosphere of Christian thinking and personally conformable to many Christian practices. The air breathed freedom. This is the difference which explains the phenomenon seen in more recent political experiments. The verbal forms of American constitutional government have been carried to all corners of the earth by faithful political teachers who have sought to tell nations how to be like the United States. They have spelled out the words but the pupils have often failed to catch the tune. This has been due to the lack of a basic popular point of view and tradition built upon Christian teaching which is a necessary ingredient of a free society. It is sometimes presumed that if a body politic can be undergirded with a constitution similar to, or along lines comparable to that of the United States, there will grow the kind of government which has been the blessing of America. Nations in transition have come to sit at our feet. The response has been hearty and expensive, but the results are often disappointing.

There is lacking a content of thought which prevailed in this country in the 18th century. That was a background of religious sentiment, settled views of life and the daily reminder in public and private, that it is chiefly IN GOD WE TRUST.

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10. "Il n'y a pas opposition réelle, pour Calvin, entre la loi naturelle et la loi révélee, pas plus qu'il n'y a opposition réelle entre la religion naturelle et la religion révélee; pas plu qu'il y a opposition réele entre la grâce generale et la grâce particulière; c'est dans ces contrariétés mêmes que réside l'originalité de la pensée de Calvin, ce qu'elle a de plus calviniste. La loi naturelle n'est, pour Calvin, qu'un aspect général de la grâce générale: c'est la grâce générale elle-même." (Doumergue. op. cit. Vol. V, p. 471)

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3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 392.

4. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 693, 697.

6. Pelham, Sir Theodwick. The history of [illegible]
Columbia Law Review, Vol. I. [illegible]

8. The Dieterman Formula Case: "Is logs [illegible]
ent, regue declared an [illegible]
attorney patent: nec vero est per [illegible]
solvi hec lege permissum; regue non [illegible]
aut interpres eius minor hoc unum, [illegible]
Alberic, alia iure, alia [illegible]
Quoted by Talbot, op. cit. p. 10.

7. Dryden, Percival S. [illegible]
1933-34. Vol. I, p. [illegible]

8. Aquinas, St. Thomas. [illegible]
S v. ac. [illegible]
Quest. 93, Art. 2. [illegible]
in the Decree of [illegible]
(1906). II: 1.)

9. Montague, Vie de Jean Calvin. Lausanne, II 7. [illegible]
p. 129.

10. "Il n'y a pas opposition réelle, pour Calvin, entre la raison naturelle et la loi révélée, une plus qu'il n'y a opposition réelle entre la volonté [illegible] et la volonté [illegible]. Pour Calvin, comme pour St. Thomas l'ordre juridique de la Nature, ou de la Providence, est [illegible]: il est [illegible] de la Nature, ou de la Providence, ou de la loi naturelle. Le [illegible] pour Calvin [illegible] qu'un appel [illegible] de la [illegible] elle: [illegible] elle-même." (Dunkerque. op. cit. Vol. V, p. [illegible]

11. Hastings, Charles W. The [illegible]
Harvard University Press, [illegible]

12. Dunkerque, Gilles. The [illegible]
Dunkerque, V. J. [illegible]
[illegible] Vol. [illegible] pp. [illegible]

13. Cotton, John. A Briefe Exposition with Practical Observations Upon the Whole Book of Ecclesiastes. London, 1654. pp. 64-65.

14. Cotton, John. A Practical Commentary or an Exposition with Observations, Reasons, and Uses upon the First Epistle General of John. London, 1656. p. 71.

15. Willard. op. cit. p. 137.

16. Wise, John. A Vindication of the Government of New-England Churches. Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; its Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it. Boston, 1717. p. 34.

17. Whitefield, George. Britain's Mercies, and Britain's Duty. Represented in a Sermon, Preached at the New-Building in Philadelphia on Sunday, August 24, 1746. Boston, 1746. p. 19.

18. Hobart, Noah. Civil Government the Foundation of Social Happiness. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 10th, 1750. Hartford, 1751. p. 2.

19. Phillips, Samuel. Political Rulers Authoriz'd and Influenc'd by God our Saviour, to Decree and Execute Justice. A Sermon preached at Boston on May 30th, 1750, being the anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1750. p. 7.

20. Welsteed, William. The Dignity and Duty of Civil Magistrates. A Sermon preached ... May 29th, 1751. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1751. p. 17.

21. Lord, Benjamin. Religion and Government Subsisting Together in Society, Necessary to their Compleat Happiness and Safety. A Sermon delivered ... Anniversary Election at Hartford, May 9th, 1751. New-London, 1752. pp. 1-2.

22. Woodbridge, Ashbel. A Sermon Delivered before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut on the Anniversary Election at Hartford, May 14th, 1752. New-London, 1753. p. 10.

23. Mayhew, Jonathan. A Sermon Preach'd ... May 29th, 1754. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province. Boston, 1754. p. 10.

13. [illegible]

14. [illegible]

15. [illegible]

16. [illegible]

17. [illegible]

18. [illegible]

19. [illegible]

20. [illegible]

21. [illegible]

22. [illegible]

24. Davies, Samuel. God, the Sovereign of all Kingdoms. op. cit. Vol. III, p. 329.

25. Beckwith, George. That People a Safe and Happy People, who have God for, and among them. Shewed in a Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, May 13, 1756, being the Day of the Anniversary Election there. New-London, 1756. p. 11.

26. Raynolds, Peter. The Kingdom is the Lord's; or, God the Supreme Ruler and Governour of the World. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 12th, 1757. New-London, 1757. p. 10.

27. Gay, Ebenezer. Natural Religion, as Distinguished from Revealed. Boston, 1759. p. 10.

28. Fish, Joseph. Christ Jesus the Physician, and his Blood the Balm, Recommended for the Healing of a Diseased People. In a Sermon Preach'd before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of their Anniversary Election, May 8, 1760. New-London, 1760. pp. 13-14.

29. Bellamy, Joseph. A Sermon Delivered before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, on the Day of the Anniversary Election, May 13th, 1762. New-London, 1762. p. 9.

30. Lockwood, James. A Sermon preached at Weathersfield, July 6, 1763. Being the Day appointed by Authority for a Public Thanksgiving on Account of the Peace, concluded with France and Spain. New-Haven, 1763. p. 5.

31. Clap, Thomas. An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation. New-Haven, 1765. pp. 46-48.

32. Appleton, Nathaniel. A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Total Repeal of the Stamp Act preached in Cambridge, New-England, May 20th, 1766. Boston, 1766. p. 21.

33. Adams, Amos. Religious Liberty an Invaluable Blessing. Boston, 1768. pp. 38-39.

34. Haven, Jason. A Sermon preached ... May 31st, 1769. Being the Anniversary of the Elections of His Majesty's Council. Boston, 1769. p. 26.

35. Lathrop, John. Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston. A Sermon occasioned by the Horrid Murder of Messieurs Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Atticus, with Patrick Carr, since dead, and Christopher Monk, judged irrecoverable, and several others badly wounded by a party of troops under the Command of Captain Preston on the fifth of March, 1770, and preached the Lord's Day following. Boston, 1771. p. 13.

36. Johnson, Stephen. Integrity and Piety the best Principles of a good Administration of Government. Illustrated in a Sermon preached at Hartford, on the day of their Anniversary Election, May 10th, 1770. New-London, 1770. p. 5.

37. Trumbull, Benjamin. A Discourse Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Freemen of the Town of New-Haven, April 12, 1773. New-Haven, 1773. pp. 31-32.

38. Tennent, William. An Address occasioned by the Late Invasion of the Liberties of the American Colonies by the British Parliament. Delivered in Charleston, South Carolina. Philadelphia, 1774. p. 8.

39. Carmichael, John. A Self-Defensive War Lawful, proved in a Sermon, preached at Lancaster, before Captain Ross's Company of Militia, in the Presbyterian Church on Sabbath Morning, June 4, 1775. Philadelphia, 1775. p. 12.

40. Zubly, John J. The Law of Liberty. A Sermon of American Affairs, preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia. 1775. p. 7.

41. Witherspoon, John. The Druid No. II. The Pennsylvania Magazine, June, 1776. p. 253.

42. Cohen, M. R. Jus Naturale Redivivus. The Philosophical Review, Vol. XXV, No. 6, November, 1916. pp. 763-64.

43. Trevelyan, Sir. George O. The American Revolution. London, 1899-1907. Vol. I, pp. 150-51.

44. Watson, John F. Annals of Philadelphia. W. P. Hazard, ed. Philadelphia, 1881. Vol. I, p. 419.

45. Journals of the Continental Congress - 1774-1789. Washington, 1904-1934.

46. Trevelyan. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 218.

47. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 259.

48. Minutes of the Baptist Association held in Philadelphia October 12, 13, 14, 1774. (Copy in the Library of the College of Pennsylvania)

35. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

49. Stiles, Ezra. The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. F. B. Dexter, ed. N. Y., 1901. Vol. I, p. 330.

50. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 472.

51. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 46.

52. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 415-16.

53. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 147.

54. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 11 and note.

55. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 124.

56. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 283.

57. Weis, Rev. Frederick Lewis. The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England. Lancaster, Mass. 1936.

———. The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776. Lancaster, Mass., 1938.

———. The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware and Georgia. Lancaster, Mass., 1950.

58. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 490-91.
The attitude of Baptists later changed as illustrated by a deposition presented by the Rev. Morgan Edwards to the Committee at White Clay Creek, Delaware on August 7, 1775, which ran as follows: "Whereas I have some time since frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotick struggle for the liberties of America, against the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry, which conduct has justly raised their resentment against me, I now confess that I have spoken wrong, for which I am sorry, and ask forgiveness of the publick; and I do promise, that for the future I will conduct myself in such a manner as to avoid giving offense, and, at the same time, in justice to myself, declare, that I am a friend to the present measures pursued by the friends of American liberty, and do heartily approve of them, and, as far as in my power, will endeavor to promote them." (Force, Peter, ed. American Archives. ... 4th. Series, Vol. I, pp. 280-82.)

At the same time there came a change in public sentiment toward the Baptists as illustrated by the following minute in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives on October 30, 1775, viz., "The Committee on the Memorial of the Rev. Isaac Backus, agent for the Baptists

30. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 195.

31. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 64.

32. [illegible]

33. [illegible]

34. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 11 and [illegible].

35. [illegible]

36. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 31.

37. Weiss, Nov. [illegible]

reported, Read and accepted with amendment. Ordered, That Dr. Fletcher have liberty to bring in a Bill for the redress of such grievances as he apprehends the Baptists labour under." (Force, Vol. I, p. 1489)

Student opinion may be noted as a factor influencing clerical opinion in the Baptist college in Rhode Island.

PETITION OF THE SENIOR CLASS RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE (Brown University) TO THEIR PRESIDENT ETC.
College in Providence, June 8, 1775.
To the Reverend President (James Manning), Honourable Professor, and the rest of the Honourable Corporation of Rhode-Island College: the dutiful Petition of the Senior Class:

Most Worthy Patron: Deeply affected with the distresses of our oppressed Country, which now most unjustly feels the baneful effects of arbitrary power, provoked by the greatest height of cruelty and vengeance by the noble and manly resistance of a free and determined people, permit us, gentlemen, to approach you with this our humble and dutiful petition, that you would be pleased to take under your most serious consideration the propriety of holding the ensuing Commencement in a publick manner, as usual; whether such a celebration of that anniversary would be in conformity to the eighth article of the Association formed by the Grand American Congress, and which all the Colonies are now religiously executing, and that you would be pleased to signify unto us your resolution respecting the same, that we may govern ourselves accordingly.
Signed by Committee of the Senior Class.

Josiah Read
Andrew Law
James Fulton

Force, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 935-36)

The eighth article referred to reads:

"That we will, in our several stations, encourage Frugality, Economy, and Industry, and promote Agriculture, Arts, and the Manufactures of the Country, especially that of Wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of plays, shews, and the expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfes at funerals." (Force, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 914-15)

With the precocity which student bodies have ever had to bring pressure on their academic superiors, this petition served its purpose for the college authorities granted the request to omit a "publick" aspect of the ensuing commencement, while maintaining the academic life of the institution in other respects. (Force, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 936)

59. Smith, Horace Wemyss. Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D. Philadelphia, 1879. Vol. I, pp. 487-88.

60. Alexander Wedderburn was an English jurist who with Edward Thurlow, Richard Jackson and J. Dunning, gave an opinion on the Connecticut claims in Pennsylvania. (See Benjamin Trumbull, A Complete History of Connecticut, Civil and Ecclesiastical, etc., New Haven, 1818. Vol. II, pp. 472-73.) The decision was claimed by both colonies, but later Wedderburn became the advocate of harsh measures on the part of government.

61. Trumbull, Benjamin. A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands, Lying West of the Province of New York. New-Haven, 1774. pp. 31-33.

62. Ibid. pp. 92-93.

63. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 55. May 5, 1774. p. 1.

64. Smith, William. An Examination of the Connecticut Claims to Lands in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1774. p. 84.

The Pennsylvania Gazette for January 12, 1774 advertised this as "just published" and the Pennsylvania Journal printed a similar advertisement on January 19th. After two hundred copies were run off the press, Smith added a "Postscript, Jan. 14, 1774" based on the action of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, January 13th, to this effect:

"Resolved, That a Number of Persons emigrating from the Colony of Connecticut, under a Pretence of Right to Lands within the Limits and Boundaries of the Royal Grant to the Proprietaries of this Province, without prosecuting their Claim before his Majesty in Council, the only proper Place of Decision, have in a riotous and tumultuous manner taken possession of a large Tract of Country within the said known Limits and Boundaries; and have held, and still retain their said Possessions in a hostile Manner, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of this Province ... Resolved, That the Governor be earnestly requested to give special Directions to all Magistrates, Sheriffs, and other Officers concerned ... to be vigilant and active in the discharge of their Duty ... in quieting and suppressing all Acts of Violence and every illegal Attempt to dispossess the peaceable Inhabitants of this Province." (pp.93-94)

65. Ibid. pp. 91-92.

66. Force, Peter, ed. American Archives ... 4th Series. Washington, 1837-1844. Vol. I, pp. 280-282.

67. Dexter, Franklin B. Yale Biographies and Annals. New York, 1896. Vol. II, p. 624.

68. Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Washington, 1904-1934. Vol. III, p. 440. For other allusions see minutes of day named.

69. 2 Dallas (1795) pp. 305-312.

70. Corwin, Edward S. The Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretations. Washington, 1953, p. 560.

71. Pennsylvania Gazette. No. 2369. May 18, 1774. p. 3, col. 2.

72. Records of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Philadelphia (1853).

73. On Dec. 29, 1774 Rankin wrote Lord Dartmouth a long letter from Philadelphia worth giving somewhat at length:
" ... I have lately rode a considerable way, through the Provences [sic] of New Jersey, Penselvania [sic], and Maryland. I have also from my Brethren, who labour in Virginia, and North Carolina, had accounts of the prospect of the work there. From what I have seen, and what I am truely informed of; there is great cause to adore and praise God. Some hundreds have been effectualy awakened, and brought to the knowledge of God, (in the various Provences where we preach) in a few months past. I have never seen such an outpouring of Gods Spirit since I came to America, as I beheld for the most part of the month of last November. The greatest of this work was in Maryland, and on the borders of the Provence of Virginia. In the cities and Towns the gospel does not flourish in the way and manner we could desire: It is in the country where we see in a more cheering manner, the fruit of our labours. I do not know that ever I saw two places so highly favoured with Gospel Ministers, as Philadelphia and New York are; and I never knew two Cities wherein there was so little good done, after so much faithful preaching. Except a few Hundreds it seems to me that a deadly slumber has got hold of the inhabitants in the above cities. I believe we have upwards of five hundred black people, (male and female) in our societies; the most of whom are happy in a Saviours love.

What effect the political contests will have upon religion in these colinies [sic], I am not able to ascertain: But if I may [ ] the stock by the sample, I fear the worst, altho I would hope the best.

I was much pleased to hear from a young clergyman, (who was lately here, and had come from England a few months ago) that he was informed while he was in London, that your Lordship had a worthy, good man in your eye, whom you thought would make an acceptable Bishop for America. Such a person would certainly facilitate the work of God, and greatly promote the interest of the church of England in these colinies: But I am ready to think, that our political troubles must first subside before your Lordship will be able to be instrumental of making such an happy era, to take place in this land.

Your Lordship is (no doubt) fully informed of all the transactions that passed here, in the present situation of affairs: But I presume you will not be offended with me, if [I] should add a few observations of what has come under my own cognizance. The attention that I have paid to any publick matters since I came into this land, has been from this motive, to turn all into prayer, and spiritual advice to those, that either in publick, or privet, I might have any intercourse with. While the Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, I had access to be here most of the time. Many of its members came to our Preaching; and I had an opportunity of conversing with various of them again. I believe many of them, has the most warm attachment to his Majesty, and the constitution; but probably others, who are of republican principles, have carried matters further than the others intended. All that they transacted I have seen, only the address to his Majesty: That as yet I have not seen made publick. The friends of the goverment [sic] at present say little; (and indeed (as the tide runs) it is dangerous so to do unless they have got grace to brave the fear of Death, or at least so much as to enable them to bear with patience being tarred and feathered) but if things should come to extreemities [sic] (which I hope they never, never will) there are many who are now almost silent, that would stand by his Majesty, and Parliament to there [sic] last drop of blood. There is nothing to be heard in some of the Provences, but warlike preparations, of every kind. (Wm. Salt Library, Stafford, England 2/D1788/1041) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth)

74. Carrow, Goldsmith Day. The Introduction of Methodism into Pennsylvania. (Abstract of a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at a stated meeting held January 12, 1885) Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 12, pp. 203-204.

75. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 474.

76. Minutes of the Baptist Association. op. cit. p. 5.

75. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. [illegible].

76. Minutes of the [illegible]

77. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 254.

78. Lockwood, Samuel. Civil Rulers an Ordinance of God, for Good to Mankind. A Sermon preached before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut at Hartford on the day of their Anniversary Election May 12, 1774. New London, 1774. pp. 5-8.

79. Willard, Samuel. A Compleat Body of Divinity, in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, etc. Boston, 1726. p. i.

80. Ibid. pp. 621-622.

81. Lockwood. op. cit. pp. 9, 11, 15-16, 17-18, 24-29.

82. Ibid. pp. 31, 34, 39.

83. Sprague, William B. Annals of the American Pulpit. New York, 1857. Vol. I, p. 467.

84. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 440.

85. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 293.

86. Pennsylvania Journal. Supplement. May 14, 1774.

87. Virginia Gazette. No. 1180. May 19, 1774. p. 4.

88. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 370.

89. Massachusetts Gazette. May 26, 1774. p. 2.

90. Hitchcock, Gad. A Sermon preached before His Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Governor; the Honorable His Majesty's Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, May 25, 1774. Being the Anniversary of the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, 1774. pp. 21-22.

91. Hutchinson, Thomas. The History of Massachusetts. Boston, 1795. Vol. I, p. 318.

92. Hitchcock. op. cit. pp. 26-30, 46-47.

93. Chauncy, Charles. A Letter to a Friend. Boston, 1774. pp. 5-6. Later, November 3, 1774, Chauncy wrote a personal letter, not published, to Josiah Quincy, Jr. in London in which he said: "The spirit in the Colonies, especially the four New-England ones, instead of being lowered since you went from us, is raised to a still greater height, insomuch that there may be danger of rashness and percipitancy in their conduct. I hope all prudent care will be taken to govern its operations by the rules of wisdom. It is the wish of every sober,

77. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 294.

78. Lockwood, Samuel. Civil Rulers [illegible]. A sermon preached at [illegible] the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut [illegible] of their Anniversary Election [illegible] London, 1759. pp. [illegible]

79. Williams, Samuel. A [illegible]

80. Ibid. pp. [illegible]

81. Lockwood. op. cit. pp. 9, 11, 14-16, 17-18, 26-30.

82. Ibid. pp. 31, 34, 39.

83. Sprague, William B. [illegible] New York, 1857. Vol. [illegible]

84. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. [illegible]

85. [illegible] op. cit. [illegible]

86. [illegible]

87. Virginia Gazette. No. 1181. [illegible] 1774. p. [illegible]

88. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. [illegible]

89. Massachusetts Gazette. No. [illegible]

90. [illegible]. A Sermon preached before His Excellency Thomas [illegible] Governor; the Honorable His Majesty's Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, May 29, [illegible] Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. Boston, [illegible] pp. [illegible]

91. Hutchinson, Thomas. [illegible] Boston, [illegible] Vol. [illegible]

92. [illegible] op. cit. pp. [illegible]

93. Chauncy, Charles. A letter [illegible] pp. [illegible] Letter, December [illegible] great letter, not [illegible] London in which he said, [illegible] spirit in the Colonies, especially the [illegible] instead of being lowered since you went from us, is raised to a still greater height, insomuch that there may be danger of rashness and precipitancy in their conduct. I hope all prudent care will be taken to prevent [illegible] the rules of wisdom. It is [illegible] in every street,

understanding man amongst us, that harmony, love and peace may be restored between Great Britain and the Colonies. They dread nothing more, slavery excepted, than a bloody conflict for the security of their liberties; and yet this, so far as I am able to judge, they will readily and universally go into rather than submit to such cruelly hard and tyrannical measures as are imposed upon them."

And on November 15, 1774 Nathaniel Appleton wrote Quincy, "The spirit of the inhabitants, both in town and country, is as firm as ever; determined to defend their rights to the utmost. The Continental Congress broke up on the 26th (October) ultimo, and our Members all returned safe last Wednesday (November 9, 1774) evening. The bells rang the whole evening." (Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 958, 980)

94. Gordon, William. The History of the Rise Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America. New York, 1801. Vol. I, p. 239.

95. Washington, George. The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799. J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed. New York & Boston, 1925. Vol. II, p. 152.

96. Jefferson, Thomas. Papers of Thomas Jefferson. J. P. Boyd, ed. 52 v. Princeton, 1950. Vol. I, pp. 105-106.

———. Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson. P. L. Ford, ed. New York, 1914. Vol. I, pp. 9-11.

John Rushworth (1612-1690) of Lincolns-Inn, England was an historian at the time of Cromwell. (See Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, W. C. Abbott, ed. Harvard, 1947. Vol. IV, p. 654, note.) In 1647 he was called to the bar and was assistant clerk to the House of Commons. He carried state papers between the parliament and Charles I and later became secretary to Fairfax and also Cromwell. He sat for Berwick in Cromwell's Parliament, survived the return of Charles II, and continued as agent for the town of Berwick. For a time he was the agent for Massachusetts. After 1684 he was a resident of the King's Bench Prison. All his life he took shorthand notes of transactions he witnessed and managed to transmit to posterity an amazing treasure of historical data. (Ency. Britannica, 14th ed.)

He left the world eight quarto volumes of Historical Collections. The first volume was addressed to the Lord Protector Richard (Cromwell) and was printed in London in 1682. It included "Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters of Law and Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments" between the years 1618 and 1629. Volume two

bears the date 1680 and covers the period March 10, 1628/9 to April 13, 1640. Volume three is dated 1680 and covers the period March 26, 1639 to April 13, 1640 and Volume four bears the date 1692 and was "Licensed November 11, 1691". It covers the period from the meeting of Parliament November 3, 1640 to the end of the year 1644, "Wherein is a particular account of the rise and progress of the civil war ... impartially related". Volume five with the same date of license and same year of publication covers the same period. Volume six came out in 1701 and continues the civil war from the beginning of 1645 to the death of King Charles in 1648. Volume seven picks up the narrative of the preceding volume on August 1, 1647 and Volume eight, dated London, 1680 contains the Trial of the Earl of Strafford, March 22, 1640 (1) until May 10, 1641.

97. Davies, Samuel. God, the Sovereign of all Kingdoms. Works. Philadelphia, 1864. Vol. III, p. 329 ff.

98. Harrower, John. Diary. American Historical Review, Vol. VI, October, 1900, p. 80.

99. Freeman, Douglas S. George Washington. New York, 1951. Vol. III, p. 355.

100. Analysis made from the publications of the Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, F. L. Weis, ed., op. cit.

(Table attached to p. 87 of MS goes here)

101. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 490-491.

102. Clergy who signed the Association were: William Harrison, William Hubard, Benjamin Blagrove, William Bland, H. J. Burges, Samuel Smith McCroskey, Joseph Davenport, Thomas Price, David Griffith, William Leigh, Robert Andrews, Samuel Klug, Ichabod Camp, William Holt. (Papers of Thomas Jefferson, op. cit., p. 109)

Virginian Anglican clergy are found presiding at meetings held in June to endorse the Non-Importation Scheme and for electing delegates to the colonial meeting of deputies, viz., Charles L. Thurston moderated the Frederick County meeting on June 8th (Force, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 392); Peter C. G. Muhlenberg moderated the Woodstock meeting on June 16th. (Force, I, 417) and Thomas Smith, rector of Cople Parish moderated the Westmoreland County meeting on June 22nd. This meeting sent Richard Henry Lee to the "general meeting of deputies" which in turn sent him to Philadelphia as a delegate to the First Continental Congress. (Force, I, 437) Elsewhere we find clergymen in various official positions: The Rev. Dr. John Gordon, a Queen's College, Oxford man and rector of St. Michael's Parish (Talbot County, Maryland) was chairman of the county committee May 23, 1775, (Force, II, 682) and the Rev. John Murray, a University of Edinburgh graduate, was clerk of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Concord, April 22, 1775 when it was hastily assembled after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, and then immediately adjourned to Watertown, to meet again that same afternoon at 4 o'clock. (Journals of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Boston, 1838. p. 147)

103. "Chaplains of the American Revolution", by the Editor (in MS).

104. Witherspoon, John. The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. Sermon at Princeton, May 17, 1776. Works. Philadelphia, 1800. Vol. II, p. 407.

105. Davies, Samuel. Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of Good Soldiers. Works. Philadelphia, 1864. Vol. III, p. 94.

106. Morse, Jedidiah. Annals of the American Revolution. Hartford, 1824. p. 179.

"It ought here to be observed that this rational and pious custom of observing fasts in times of distress and impending danger, and of celebrating days of public thanksgiving, after having received special tokens of divine favour, has ever prevailed in New England since its first settlement, and in some parts of other states. These public supplications and acknowledgments to Heaven, ... were more frequent than usual and were attended with uncommon fervour and solemnity."

107. Jefferson. Autobiography. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

108. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

109. Adams, John. Works of John Adams. Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, 1853-56. Vol. II, p. 358.

Charles Thomson's part in the events of May, 1774 in Philadelphia is revealed in his own words addressed in a letter to William Henry Drayton in comment upon the manuscript of a history of the Revolution being written by Drayton: "But in the spring of 1774, as soon as the news of the Boston port bill, &c. arrived, his friend (Thomson), who had taken an active part in the measures for sending back the tea, immediately communicated to him (John Dickinson) the intelligence, and gave him his opinion that now was the time to step forward. The measures proper to be pursued on this occasion were secretly concerted between them.

And to prepare the minds of the people, D. undertook to address the public in a series of letters. The next day the letters arrived from Boston, and it was judged proper to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, to communicate to them the contents of the letter, and gain their concurrence in the measures that were necessary to be taken. As the Quakers, who are principled against war, saw the storm gathering, and, therefore, wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anythings being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and thus if possible bring Pennsylvania with its whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct Mr. D. had lately pursued opened a prospect to this. His sentiments were not generally known; the quakers courted, and seemed to depend upon him. The other party, from his past conduct, hoped for his assistance, but were not sure how far he would go if matters came to extremity, his sentiments on the present controversy not being generally known. It was, therefore, agreed that he should attend the meeting. And as it would be in vain for Philadelphia, or even Pennsylvania, to enter into the dispute unless seconded and supported by the other colonies, the only point to be carried at (the) ensuing meeting was to return a friendly and affectionate answer to the people of Boston, to forward the news of their distress to the Southern colonies, and to consult them and the Eastern colonies on the propriety of calling a Congress to consult on the measures necessary to be taken." (Early Days of the Revolution in Philadelphia. From the Sparks Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard College. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 2, pp. 411-423. Complete letter. Above quotation found

107. Jefferson. Autobiography. Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 71.

108. [illegible] Var. la per Pod.

109. Adams, John. Works of John Adams. Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, 1851-56. Vol. III, p. [illegible].

Charles Thomson's part in the events of 1783 is Philadelphia is revealed in the two words addressed a letter to William Henry Drayton in connect manuscripts of a history of the Revolution which by Drayton: "Bad in the spring of 1783, we were in news of the Boston peace bill." Mr. [illegible] (Thomson), who had been an active friend in his for months past the two, [illegible] him (John Dickinson) the latest [illegible], and [illegible] opinion that now was the time to stand firm. The measures proper to be pursued at this [illegible] secretly concerted between them.

And to prepare the minds of the people, Mr. Dickinson address the public in a series of letters. The first the letters arrived from Boston, and it was judged to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, to municate to them the contents of the letters, and their concurrence in the measures that were necessary be taken. As the Quakers, who are principled against saw the storm gathering, and, therefore, retired to a distance from danger, were industriously employed to [illegible] things being done which might involve Pennsylvania's partner in the dispute, and as it was apprehended that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to determine on the counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and if [illegible] bring Pennsylvania with its whole force unitedly to make common cause with Boston. The time of [illegible] Mr. D. had briefly pursued opened a prospect to this. His sentiments were not generally [illegible] counted, and seemed to depend [illegible] from his past conduct, hoped for [illegible] not sure how far he would go if matters came [illegible] his sentiments on the present [illegible] ally known. It was, therefore, deemed [illegible] attend the meeting. And as it was to be [illegible] Philadelphia, or even [illegible] dispute unless seconded and supported by [illegible] lea, the only point to be carried [illegible] was to return a friendly and [illegible] people of Boston, to express the [illegible] to the Southern colonies, and to [illegible] Eastern colonies on the propriety of [illegible] to consult on the measures [illegible] (Early Days of the Revolution as [illegible] Sparks Manuscripts in the Library of [illegible] pp. 421-423. Complete letter. Above quotation [illegible]

on pp. 412-413.)

A description of a similar conference is given in a MS letter from Joseph Reed in Philadelphia to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated June 10, 1774. " ... There was a Meeting last Night of the most Considerable Gentlemen of this City both in Fortune & Abilities as well in Office as out to prepare this Business for the ensuing Wednesday. This Meeting consisted of the principal Persons of all Denominations when the Proposal of Opposition to the present Claims of Parliament was unanimously agreed to, & tho the Resolves may not be couched in such warm Terms as many others yet they are formed on the same Principles & your Lordship I think may consider it as a fixed Truth that all the dreadful Consequences of Civil War will ensue before the Americans will submit to the Claim of Taxation by Parliament. I mention this that your Lordship may not be deluded by the suggestions of designing interested People, to wait for this Event. As nothing but Force will ever bring it about. I am with great Truth & the most profound Respect

Your Lordships most devoted
& very Obed. & Hmble Serv.
Jos. Reed"

(Wm. Salt Library 1778. Vol. 7 (ii) No. 9834) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtest of the Earl of Dartmouth.

110. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 136. May 30, 1774 (p. 3)

111. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 300.

112. The Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1643. June 1, 1774 (p.3); Newport Mercury. No. 823. June 13, 1774 (p. 3); Virginia Gazette (Rind) No. 422. June 9, 1774. Supplement (p. 2); Pennsylvania Gazette. No. 2371. June 1, 1774 (p. 3).

113. Newport Mercury. No. 823. June 13, 1774 (p. 3.)

114. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 59. June 2, 1774 (p. 3).

115. New-York Gazette. No. 1175. May 2, 1774. Supplement (p. 2).

116. New-York Journal. No. 1637. May 19, 1774. p. 3, col. 4; Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1641. May 20, 1774. Postscript.

A description of a similar conference in [illegible] letter from Joseph Reed [illegible] Dartmouth, dated June [illegible] Meeting last Night [illegible] of this City [illegible] Office [illegible] Wednesday. [illegible] Persons of all [illegible] Opposition to the [illegible] unanimously agreed [illegible] concluded [illegible] formed on the same [illegible] may consider it as a fixed [illegible] Consequences of Civil [illegible] cans will submit to the [illegible] I mention this [illegible] the suggestions of [illegible] for this [illegible]. As [illegible] it about. I am with great [illegible] respect

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[Was this [illegible] [illegible]]

110. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. [illegible] May 30, 1774 (p. 3)

111. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, [illegible]

112. The Pennsylvania Journal. [illegible] Newport Mercury [illegible] Virginia Gazette [illegible] (p. 2); Pennsylvania Gazette [illegible] (p. 2).

113. Newport Mercury. No. [illegible] June [illegible] 1774 (p. [illegible])

114. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. [illegible] 1774 (p. 2).

115. New-York Gazette. No. [illegible] May 2, 1774. Supplement (p. 1).

116. New-York Journal. [illegible] May 19, 1774 [illegible] Pennsylvania Journal. [illegible] May [illegible] 1774. Post-script.

117. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 137. June 6, 1774 (p. 3).

118. Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1644. June 8, 1774. p. 3.

119. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. Vol. III, No. 137. June 6, 1774, p. 3; Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1643. June 1, 1774, p. 3; New-York Gazette, No. 1180. June 6, 1774, p. 3; Massachusetts Gazette: and Boston Post Boy, No. 877. June 13, 1774, p. 2.

120. Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1644. June 8, 1774, p. 3.

121. MS Minutes, Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1774. Vol. II, pp. 298-99.

122. Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1642. May 25, 1774, p. 1.

123. Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter, May 5, 1774. Supplement, p. 2.

124. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 421.

125. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 342.

126. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 354.

127. Newport Mercury, No. 819. May 16, 1773. p. 3.

128. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 241.

129. Ibid. p. 237.

130. Virginia Gazette (Rind), No. 422. June 9, 1774. Supplement. p. 2.

131. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 445-46.

132. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 429.

133. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 305, 366-372.

134. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 390-93.

135. Archives of the State of New Jersey. Newark, 1886. 1st. Ser. Vol. 10, p. 465 ff.

136. Gordon. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 102.
cf. Sibley's Harvard Graduates. Clifford K. Shipton, ed. Harvard, 1958. Vol. 10, p. 514.

137. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 405, 408, 423.

138. Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter. No. 3684. May 12, 1774. p. 1.

117. Druley's Pennsylvania Record. Vol. 117, no. 127.
June 6, 1778 (p. 3).

118. Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1618. June 6, 1778. p. 3.

119. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet. [illegible], 1781, no. 1[illegible].
[illegible] p. 3; Pennsylvania Journal, No. [illegible].
[illegible] p. 3; Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 11[illegible].
1777[illegible]; Pennsylvania Ledger and Boston Post-Boy,
[illegible] June 13, 1778, p. 2.

120. Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1618. June 6, 1778, p. 3.

121. [illegible], Digest Cases, Philadelphia, 1778. Vol. II,
pp. 298-299.

122. Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1618. May 23, 1778, p. 1.

123. Massachusetts Gazette: and [illegible] General Advertiser,
May 5, 1778. Supplement, p. 2.

124. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 521.

125. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 314.

126. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 358.

127. Newport Mercury, No. 670. May [illegible], 1778.

128. Force. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 314.

129. Ibid. p. 257.

130. Treatise [illegible]
[illegible], p. 2.

131. [illegible]

132. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 121.

133. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 77[illegible].

134. [illegible]

135. [illegible]
Lab. Sor. Vol. II, p. 155 ff.

136. [illegible]. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 124.
[illegible]'s Harvard Inventory. Virtues & Principles, ed.
Harvard, 1952. Vol. 10, p. 21.

137. [illegible]. op. cit. Vol. I, p. [illegible], 107, 122.

138. [illegible]
No. 2004. May 12, 1778. p. 1.

139. Lathrop, John. A sermon preached to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, New-England June 6, 1774. Boston, 1774. Note, pp. 34-35.

140. Ibid. pp. 10-22.

141. Burnett, Edmund C. Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Washington, 1921. Vol. I, p. 18.

142. Deane, Silas. Letter postmarked Philadelphia, Sept. 8, 1774. Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford, 1870. Vol. II, pp. 170-72.

143. Hiltzheimer, Jacob. Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768-1798. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 16, p. 97.

144. Deane, op. cit. p. 172.

145. Dubbs, Joseph Henry. The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania. Address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania April 17, 1893. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 17, p. 261 and note.

146. Stoudt, John Joseph. The German Press in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 59, p. 77.

147. Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Vol. III, p. 1149.

148. Washington. op. cit. Vol. II, dates mentioned.

149. Duffield, George. Letter to Rev. David McClure at Portsmouth, Feb. 9, 1774. MS in The Pennsylvania Historical Society Gratz Collection, Case 9, Box 6.

150. 322 Spruce Street. ... A Photographic View of the House, No. 322 Spruce St., South side, above 3rd. Philadelphia, 1859, pp. 4-6.

Pamphlet by "one who received baptism at the hands of Mr. Marshall, was brought up under his ministry, and has ever retained an affectionate remembrance of him. M."

151. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 423.

152. North American and United States Gazette. Feb. 2, 1860.

153. Burnett. op. cit. p. 1.

154. Adams. op. cit. p. 360.

155. Smith. op. cit.

140. [illegible]
Documents, Artillery Company in Boston, 1-6-1[illegible]
Volume 6, 1776. [illegible]

140. Ibid, pp. 10-22.

141. Burnett, Edmund C. Letters of [illegible]
Congress. [illegible]

142. [illegible]
1776, [illegible]
[illegible], 1910. Vol. 1[illegible]

143. Williamson, Joseph. [illegible]
Williamson, 1764-1[illegible]
and Surveyor. [illegible]

144. Deane, op. cit. p. 112.

145. Penna, Joseph Henry. The [illegible]
of Pennsylvania. Address un[illegible] before the Historical
Society of Pennsylvania, April 17, 1917).
Bureau of History and [illegible], Vol. IV, p. 321 and
note.

146. Schmidt, John Theus. [illegible]
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. IV,
p. 17.

147. Proceedings of the Continental [illegible]
p. 1149.

148. Washington, op. cit. Vol. II, [illegible]

149. Duffield, George. Letter to Rev. David McClure of
Portsmouth, Feb. 9, 1776. MS in the Pennsylvania
Historical Society [illegible]

150. [illegible]
30. [illegible]
1859, pp. 4-6.

Reported by "one who received baptism at the hands of
Mr. Bandell, was brought up under his ministry, and has
ever retained an affectionate remembrance of him." p."

151. Stiles. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 453.

152. North American and United States Gazette. Nov. 2, 1820.

153. Burnett. op. cit. p. I.

154. Adams. op. cit. p. 350.

155. Smith. op. cit.

156. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer. No. 63. June 30, 1774. p. 3, col. 2.

157. Whitefield, George. Works. London, 1771. Vol. III, pp. 114-115. The epitaph reads:

Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And stripped of its lettering and gilding,
Lies here food for worms.
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believes) appear once more
In a new and more elegant edition,
Revised and corrected by the Author.

158. MS Minutes. Christ Church. op. cit.

159. Sprague. op. cit. Vol. 5, p. 180 ff.

160. Ibid. Vol. 5, p. 91.

161. Letter from Judge Richard Peters (Junior) to William Rawle, Esquire. Pennsylvania Magazine. Vol. 23, pp. 205-209.

162. Hiltzheimer. op. cit. Vol. 16, p. 95.

163. Letter from Nicholas Biddle to his brother Charles. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 74, p. 366.

164. Carrow. op. cit. pp. 200-211.

165. Seidensticker, Oswald. Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 13, pp. 184-192.

166. From translation of MS letter, copy in Library of Congress.

167. Dubbs. op. cit. p. 260.

168. Gillingham, Harrold E. Dr. Solomon Drowne. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 48, pp. 230-237.

169. Rogers, William. A Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, 1772-1822. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 19, pp. 96-97.

170. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. 46, p. 76 note.

171. MS letter from James Pemberton to Daniel Mildred. In the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pemberton Papers. Vol. 26, p. 125.

172. MS letter in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pemberton Papers, Vol. 26, p. 165.

173. Guilday, Peter. The Life and Times of John Carroll. Westminster, Md., 1954. p. 290.

174. Wolf, Edwin and Whiteman, Maxwell. History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson. Philadelphia, 1957.

175. Adams. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 368 note.

176. Adams, John. Familiar Letters of John Adams to his Wife. Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, 1875. p. 37.

177. Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 27 note.

178. Boucher, Jonathan. A Letter from a Virginian to the Members of the Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the first of September, 1774. Boston, 1774. pp. 11-31.

179. Boucher, Jonathan. A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution in 13 Discourses, 1763-1775. London, 1797.

Washington responded with the following letter: "Mount Vernon, August 15, 1798. Revd. Sir: I know not how it has happened, but the fact is, that your favour of the 8th of Novr, last year, is but just received; and at a time when both public and private business pressed so hard upon me, as to afford no leisure to give the 'View of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution' written by you, and which you had been pleased to send me, a perusal. For the honour of its Dedication, and for the friendly and favourable sentmts. which are therein expressed, I pray you to accept my acknowledgment and thanks. Not having read the Book, it follows of course that I can express no opinion with respect to its Political contents; but I can venture to assert, beforehand, and with confidence, that there is no man, in either country, more zealously devoted to Peace, and a good understanding between the two Nations than I am, nor one who is more disposed to bury in oblivion all animosities which have subsisted between them, and the Individuals in each. Peace, with all the world is my sincere wish. ..."

180. Boucher, Jonathan. Reminiscences of an American Loyalist 1738-1789. Autobiography of the Rev'd. Jonathan Boucher, rector of Annapolis in Maryland, and afterwards vicar of Epsom, Surrey, England. Edited by his grandson, Jonathan Bouchier. Boston, 1925. p. 109.

Correspondence between Washington and Boucher began with

172. [illegible]

173. [illegible]
Washington, D.C., 1943. p. 130.

174. Wolf, Thorp and Whitman, Merrell. [illegible]
of Philadelphia from Original Views in the [illegible]
Philadelphia, 1917.

175. [illegible]

176. [illegible]
Charles F. Adams, ed. Boston, [illegible]

177. Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Vol. I,
p. 87 note.

178. Boucher, Jonathan. A Letter from a Virginia to the Rev
Members of the Convention to be held at Philadelphia on
the first of September, 1774. Boston, 1774. 12mo. 11p.

179. [illegible]
pt the Pennsylvania Journal in [illegible]

Vol. I.

Norman, August 31, 1774. Lord, Sir: I have the [illegible]
has happened, but the fact is, that [illegible]
fall of here, just now, is but [illegible] and it
time when both public and private [illegible]
and upon me, as the eldest [illegible]
of the peace and consequence of the [illegible]
nothing by yet, and which you [illegible]
a counsel, I am [illegible] the [illegible]
friendly and [illegible]
pressed. I beg you to excuse my [illegible]
hands. [illegible] the [illegible]
ble I can express on [illegible]
cal [illegible]; but I can [illegible]
and with [illegible]
country, more [illegible]
moderation; [illegible]
one who is more disposed [illegible]
ities unless [illegible]

180. [illegible]
[illegible]. Association of the Band [illegible]
of Annapolis in Maryland, and [illegible]
[illegible]. Baltimore, Printed by [illegible]
[illegible]. Boston, 1775. p. 1[illegible]

[illegible] Boucher between Jonathan and Boucher Jeppa mil-

the following letter, written May 30, 1768 about placing young John Parke Custis in school. " ... I should be glad therefore to know if it would be convenient for you to add him to the number of your pupils. He is a boy of good genius, about 14 yrs. of age, untainted in his morals, and of innocent manners. Two yrs. and upwards he had been reading of Virgil, and was (at the time Mr. Magown left him) entered upon the Greek Testament, tho I presume he has grown not a little rusty in both; having had no benefit of his Tutor since Christmas, notwithstanding he left the Country in March only. If he comes, he will have a boy (well acquainted with House business, which may be made as useful as possible in your Family to keep him out of Idleness) and two Horses, to furnish him with the means of getting to Church and elsewhere as you may permit; for he is to be put entirely and absolutely under your tuition, and direction to manage as you think proper in all respects." (Washington. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 287)

181. Boucher, Jonathan. A View of the Causes, etc. op. cit. pp. 363-64.

182. Chandler, Thomas Bradbury. The American Querist: or, some questions proposed relative to the present disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies. New York, 1774. Rivington's New-York Gazetteer on Sept. 15, 1774 mentioned it - "this day is published".

183. Seabury, Samuel. The Congress Canvassed. N. Y., 1774, p. 13.

184. Seabury, Samuel. An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New York, etc. N. Y., 1775, p. 5.

185. Seabury, Samuel. View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies. N. Y., 1774. p. 7.

186. Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. p. 12.

187. Seabury. View of the Controversy. op. cit. p. 6.

188. Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. p. 4.

189. Seabury. The Congress Canvassed. op. cit. p. 23.

190. Ibid. p. 17.

191. Seabury. View of the Controversy. op. cit. p. 10.

192. Journals of the Continental Congress. op. cit. Sept. 17, 1774.

193. Seabury. An Alarm. op. cit. pp. 5-6.

young John Perlo Curtis in London." [illegible]
glad therefore to know it is worth no more than
to add him to the number of your worthies.
good genius, sound Mr Pre. or age, wealthier in
[illegible], and of innocent manners. The [illegible]
he had been meeting of Friends, and was at the time
Mr. Pegram left [illegible] evening upon the [illegible] Parliament,
the I presume be has grown not a little pretty in body;
having had no benefit of his Tudor since [illegible].
nobilitandting he left this country [illegible] only.
he comes, he will have a very [illegible] welcome
[illegible] business, which may be made [illegible]
[illegible] your family to keep him out of [illegible] and the
[illegible], to [illegible] like the [illegible]
Church and elsewhere as you may [illegible] for he is
be put entirely and absolutely [illegible], and
direction to manage as you [illegible] all occasions.
(Washington. Op. cit. Vol. III. p. 227).

[illegible]. [illegible]. A View of the Country etc. Op. cit.
[illegible]-4.

[illegible]. [illegible], some questions proposed relating to the [illegible]
between Great Britain and her American Colonies. New
York, 1774. Rivington's Gen. Evt Register in Gent. Mag.
[illegible] mentioned it - "Lord Camden [illegible]".

[illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]
p. 11.

[illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]
[illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]
[illegible] are the [illegible]

[illegible]. Anonymous. An Alarm. Op. cit. p. [illegible].

[illegible]. [illegible]. View of the Controversy. Op. cit. p. 6.

[illegible]. [illegible]. An Alarm. Op. cit. p. 4.

[illegible]. Seaman. [illegible]

[illegible]. Ibid. p. 17.

[illegible]. [illegible]. View of the Controversy. Op. cit. p. 11.

[illegible]. [illegible] of the Continental Congress. Op. cit. Sept. 17,
[illegible]

[illegible]. [illegible]. An Alarm. Op. cit. pp. 5-6.

194. Witherspoon, John. Dialogue on Civil Liberty. The Druid No. I. in The Pennsylvania Magazine. May, 1776. p. 205.

195. Witherspoon, John. Lectures on Moral Philosophy. V. L. Collins, ed. Princeton, 1912. p. 67 ff.

196. Burnett. op. cit. pp. 2-3.

197. Pennsylvania Journal, No. 1662. Oct. 12, 1774 (p. 2)

198. Adams. Works. op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 356-57.

199. Witherspoon. The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 407.

200. Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1657. Sept. 7, 1774. p. 2, col. 1.

201. Watson. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 406. In 1771 a Rabbi told Ezra Stiles there were "about a dozen" families of Jews in Philadelphia and "they are opening a synagogue there". (Stiles, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 124)

202. Minutes of the Baptist Association, etc. op. cit. p. 2.

203. Communications from the Krauth Memorial Library, the Church Historical Society, and the Presbyterian Historical Society.

204. MS Minutes, Christ Church, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 290.

205. The Rev. William Smith, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury written November 28, 1759, gave what he considered a carefully ascertained distribution of the population of the Province of Pennsylvania among the various communions. His figures are quoted from Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1123-156.

1. Of the Church of England about	25,000
2. Quakers	50,000
3. English, Scotch & Irish Presbyterians, Covenanter, etc.	55,000
4. English Anabaptists	5,000
5. German Anabaptists, or Menonists, and other Quietist Sects	30,000
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of England	35,000
7. Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy & Discipline of the Church in most Articles	5,000
8. German Presbyterians or Calvinists, who stile themselves the Reformed	30,000
9. Roman Catholics, English, Irish & German	10,000
10. Moravians and a small German Society called Donkers, about	5,000
Total	250,000

194. Witherspoon, John. Tidings on Civil Liberty. The Druid No. 1. In The Pennsylvania Packet. Jan., 1776. p. 205.

195. Witherspoon, John. [illegible]
V. E. Collins, ed. Princ[illegible]

196. Burnett. op. cit. pp. 2-3.

197. Pennsylvania Journal, 14 Dec. Dec. 18, 1776 (p. 2)

198. Adams. Works. op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 376-377.

199. [illegible]
[illegible] op. cit. [illegible]

200. Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1697. Sept. 7, 1774.
p. 2, col. 1.

201. Watson. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 146. In 1776 a Dutch
told Penn Sallan there were "about a dozen" families
of Jews in Philadelphia and "they are getting
numerous there". [illegible]

202. Minutes of the Baptist Association, etc. op. cit. p.

203. [illegible] from the Records [illegible]. The
Church Historical Society, and the Protestant Episcopal
Society.

204. [illegible]

205. The Rev. William Smith, in a Tribute to his Memorial
[illegible] mentioned a generally unconstitutional illegality of the
[illegible] Population of the Province of Pennsylvania among the
[illegible] conventions. [illegible]

1. Of the Church of England [illegible]
2. Quakers.
3. Moravians, United & Irish [illegible]
[illegible].
[illegible]
other Dutchmen Sects
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to
be incorporated into the Church of England
7. Swedish Lutherans, who use the Liturgy
Hibernian of the Church in most Articles
8. German Presbyterians or Covenanters, who
still themselves the Reformed
9. Roman Catholics, Irish & German
10. Observations and a small Account Dwelling
called Dunkers, about

206. U. S. Bureau of the Census. A Century of Population Growth.

Secretary (the Rev. Richard) Peters estimated the population of Philadelphia at 13,000 in 1744; 14,563 in 1753; 18,756 in 1760; and 28,042 in 1769. Dr. Franklin and other gentlemen made a count of the houses by wards in 1749, a rather practical approach, and found 1,864, with 11 places of worship. In 1769 another enumeration produced 3,318 houses. In 1777 when Howe took control, Lord Cornwallis made a particular count by direction and found 3,862 houses, and 383 of them empty. He found 315 places of business, principally in the vicinity of the Delaware River. In 1777 there were 1,286 houses in the Northern Liberties, 35 stores and 5,015 inhabitants. In Southwark there were 836 houses, 6 stores and 2,872 inhabitants. These immediately adjacent regions were in, but not strictly of, the City. Seventh Street was the western boundary of any kind of built-up housing, with Race St. the northern, and Spruce St. the southern borders of solid development. "The ground forming the square from Chestnut to Walnut Street, and from Sixth to Seventh, was all a grass-meadow, under fence, down to the year 1794." (Watson, op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 236-39)

207. Pennsylvania Journal. No. 1657. Sept. 7, 1774, p. 2.

The same paper on Oct. 5, 1774 (No. 1661, p. 2) noted that a Rev. Divine in Charlestown, South Carolina was dismissed because he said mechanics and country clowns had no right to dispute about politics or what the King, Lords, and Commons had done.

208. Rev. Wm. Piercey, enroute from New York to Georgia also preached in Dr. Sproat's Church on October 16 and 18 and in the Pine Street Church of Duffield on October 19. A comment in a letter from the Rev. Wm. Stringer to the Earl of Dartmouth, written May 14, 1774, shows him to have been in Philadelphia then also. The minister's comments show signs of discord between denominations at the time, but these too were lost in the larger issues to come. "Mr. Persey is now here but his preaching constantly in the meetings hath given the clergy of the Church a disgust and prevented their inviting him to their pulpits for the same reason my vestry will not permit me to ask him; it really gives me concern (as he is an excellent preacher) that I cannot as I would shew my regard to him." (Wm. Salt Library, Stafford, England 2/D1778/901) Full texts of a number of MS letters were made available through the courtesy of the Earl of Dartmouth. Abstracts appear in the volumes of Great Britain. Hist. Mss. Com. Dartmouth Papers.

209. Adams. op. cit. Vol. II. Entries under dates mentioned.

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